

# Poncónfidenzist.

## THE DISSENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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## **Ecclesiastical Affairs.**

## THE WESTMINSTER HOTEL CONFERENCE.

THE meeting held yesterday afternoon at the Westminster Palace Hotel, was the revival of an excellent custom which, only from very special circumstances, has for awhile been put in abeyance. It seems only fitting that at the commencement of a new session of Parliament, those who fight the battle of religious equality both in and out of Parliament, should come together, compare notes, and encourage each other. Just now such a gathering of representative men is adapted to exercise a distinct moral influence upon the Liberal party of the country. The supporters of that principle are the only section of the opponents of a Conservative policy which can be said to have, or at least to avow, a definite creed; or, indeed, could actually convene such a conference with any certainty of success. Their banner is unfurled when no other flag is flying. They know exactly what they want, which cannot be said of all who call themselves Liberals. And though this meeting was held to discuss questions likely to come before Parliament this session—in which disestablishment does not actually figure + one and all lead to the same goal, and are teaching the same lesson. It is hardly rash to predict that the most exciting debates of the session will arise upon ecclesiastical questions, and that in the divisions that may take place upon them, the Liberal party will be the most united and put forth its greatest strength. We may well pause upon that prospect. If the principle of religious equality, in its concrete form at least, is that which is likely to weld together the several members of the Liberal party, and to unite in one common phalanx cautious leaders and zealous followers—is not this an omen that, as the ranks advance to the thick of the battle that flag cannot be, and ought not to be, hauled down, but will still be held aloft till it waves over a successful cause? It must be obvious that as the current of political events moves forward, and the teachings of the Liberation Society more and more permeate the public mind, religious equality—or, to put it in the more positive form, disestablishment—will become one of those practical questions upon which the Liberal statesmen of the day will have to take a distinct stand.

There was abundant reason, therefore, for

the hopeful and confident spirit that pervaded yesterday's conference. Many of those present have grown gray in the conflict for entire religious freedom. But the whole tone of the proceedings shows that they were neither daunted by the fact of their foes being in power, nor distrustful of the future. One secret of the resolution and heartiness which pervaded the conference was the conviction expressed in so many of the speeches that during the recess the clergy have been our most valuable allies. Not only Liberals and Nonconformists, but the public in general, have been surprised and shocked at the recent revelations of a purblind intolerance in the bosom of the Establishment so entirely alien to the spirit of the age. Those concessions on the Burial question which, as the *Times* says, are "no longer a question of one party or one sect gaining a victory over another, but of removing from social life a distressing scandal," are denounced by the united clergy of the Church of England as a reckless invasion of their ecclesiastical prerogatives. It is they who have elevated this grievance to the rank of one of those "burning questions" which can only be settled by a surrender of their monopoly. How entirely untenable is the uncompromising attitude they have been pleased to take up was vividly illustrated by the incisive and humorous address of the chairman (Mr. Richard, M.P.), the paper read by Mr. Carvell Williams, and the telling speech of Mr. Osborne Morgan. The carefully-worded resolution on the subject, cordially adopted by the conference, which asserted "the futility of any measure not based upon the principle that the parochial churchyards belong to, and exist for, the benefit of the parishioners, who are entitled to such burial rites as are in harmony with their convictions and feelings," with necessary safeguards, expresses the views not only of Nonconformists, but of all liberal-minded men.

This is the principle of the resolution which Mr. Morgan, for reasons explained by himself, has substituted for his Burials Bill of last session. That it will give rise to one of the most interesting debates of the session may be taken for granted. Conservatives who prefer justice to party, and the removal of a crying scandal to a barren victory for Mr. Disraeli in the lobby, will be greatly hampered by the inadequate and offensive substitute which Mr. Talbot proposes for Mr. Morgan's simple remedy, and will hardly be induced to make it a party vote unless the Government should be obliged to promise a measure on their own responsibility. The stock objections to the proposal of the hon. member for Denbighshire have become absolutely futile. One of the least reasonable, but most insulting, was very completely demolished by Mr. John Morley. That gentleman, as knowing something of the sentiments of many persons whose views on religious subjects are by no means of the orthodox stamp, repudiated with indignant emphasis the idea that they would ever dream of desecrating the open grave by proceedings which would shock English feeling, or would try to imitate French customs in our churchyards. His disclaimer was timely, sincere, and convincing, and should at once banish idle bugbears which are engendered by interested partisanship or by weak alarms. We have no doubt that yesterday's meeting will strengthen the hands of Mr. Osborne Morgan in his early appeal to the justice of Parliament.

The other questions which occupied the attention of the Conference were, the abolition of clerical fellowships and headships in the Universities, and the importance of preventing any infringement for sectarian purposes of the principles of the Endowed Schools Act and the Elementary Education Act. The first of these, which was opened up by a paper read by Mr. Lyulph Stanley, may possibly be set aside for the present session in consequence of the appointment of a Royal Commission. But we would fain hope that this proposal will not be agreed to till the whole subject has been ventilated in Parliament, and till Mr. Fawcett, or some other member has shown the urgent need of rescuing misapplied college endowments from clerical hands, and devoting them to objects in harmony with the true spirit of University training. There have been further indications during the week that the educational measure which Lord Sandon is to introduce will be a scheme for filling the Church schools in rural parishes, without the agency of school boards. On both these questions there is reason to hope that the Opposition will show a united front; and that those who sit on the front bench to the left of the Speaker, as well as those who sit on either side of the gangway, will be ready to resist Tory reaction, as well as to expose those stealthy but persistent efforts which are being made alike by the Charity Commissioners and Education Department to wrest the machinery under their control for the aggrandisement of the Established Church. What was said at the Westminster Palace Hotel yesterday will find an echo in the ranks of the Liberal party throughout the country; and we doubt not it will also be laid to heart by their leaders, who must well know that they can never recover strength and prestige in the House of Commons without the cordial co-operation of the zealous adherents of religious equality.

## "ENDED OR MENDED!"

THE above is the strikingly suggestive title of a pamphlet, recently issued, written by the Rev. Henry J. Alcock, M.A., who describes himself as "Some time Theological Student, &c., in the University of Dublin, and late Curate of St. Michael's, Stockwell." It is not our present purpose to review the contents of its fifty-two pages, though we may refer in the course of the following observations to one or more of the positions taken up by the writer. The brochure is very ably written. It sets forth views on the question of disestablishment and disendowment which, as it seems to us, eminently befit the Evangelical party of the Established Church. It is a terse reply—not perhaps in profession but in substance—to the arguments put before the public in support of the Church Establishment by the Church Defence Association and by the Rev. Canon Ryle. If we might be permitted to characterise the line of expostulation and argumentation which its author has adopted, we should say it is that which would be taken by the instincts of the Irish disestablished Church in regard to the Established Church of England. The question which it discusses is that of thorough reform in the latter, as looked at side by side with disestablishment. We see nothing peculiarly novel in the case as put by the author, except in two respects—first

as having been put by a clergyman of the Evangelical section, and secondly as having been put with remarkable vigour.

It is one of the signs of the times that, even in isolated instances, and, we would fain believe, as Uhlans of a strong army just now far in their rear, clerical members of this theological school in the Church of England are taking up a position in regard to the modern "question of questions," which, it appears to us, so entirely beseems the general profession, both as regards doctrine and practice, distinguishing the party as such. We are accustomed to hear pleas on behalf of disestablishment put forth from time to time by High Churchmen and by Ritualists on behalf of the free action of the Church of Christ, or what they regard as such, and some expression of willingness to accept, if need be, disendowment as the price of disestablishment. We are unhappily still more familiar with effusions emanating from the Evangelical school deprecating disestablishment, and recommending Church reform. To our thinking, the state of feeling which has had this result is undergoing some considerable change. Any such substantial reforms as would satisfy the demands of the Evangelicals are becoming daily more and more impracticable. "A Free Church in a Free State" is obviously irreconcileable with a State-Church under the circumstances in which it is maintained in this kingdom. Save in theory—and even in theory the position is doubtful—secular and political power can no more be made to coalesce with spiritual power than oil can be made to mix with water, or fire be nourished by the billows of the ocean. The *dictum* of the master of our faith is still true. "No man can serve two masters; either he will love the one and hate the other, or hold to the one and despise the other; ye cannot serve both God and Mammon." Would that the Evangelicals of the Church of England had comprehended the full range of this maxim!

The Church stands in rare need of reform. The Evangelicals see it; acknowledge it; demand it; and, to some extent, work for it. Mr. Alcock puts before them in very few words, and in a very convincing light, the futility of their efforts to this end. They are without any efficient instrumentality for effecting their purpose, and they have to deal with a body which rather contemptuously ignores it. The system, as it now exists, is a system of worldly patronage, and the world is asked by a mere section of the Establishment to give up its advantages with a view to spiritual good. What could be expected but the ignominious failure of such an attempt? If, indeed, the Church were unanimous—which notoriously is very far from being the case—if it were moved by a simple regard to the spiritual interests of the community; if its face shone with a Divine glory, and the voice of its pleadings took its tone from the disinterested earnestness of a pure and loving heart; there is no saying to what extent it might prevail even over the Gallio-like indifference of Parliament. But with prelates in the House of Lords, with the appointment of them in the hands of a Prime Minister, with the place they take in fashionable society, with their almost inevitable nepotism in the dispensation of their patronage, with the pecuniary waste of the Cathedral Establishments, and with the general subordination throughout the whole system of spiritual to temporal interests, who can reasonably expect that a secular Legislature should set the Church of England in order, so as to emancipate it from the bands in which, as a spiritual institution, it is holden? There is but one position which the Church of England can take, and she might, if she would, take it triumphantly. She might stand upon her exclusive spirituality, and in order to its maintenance surrender the secular and political privileges which the law has conferred upon her. She would then be strong in her own might—or rather in that of her Lord. Most of the impediments which now hamper her movements would be dropped with her chains. She might become poorer in worldly goods, but she

would also become richer in faith. The difficulties which now beset her path would very speedily vanish before the zeal of her children, and she would know what it was to serve a Master who has promised His presence and His sympathy, in the only sphere which becomes her, unto the end of the world.

The Church Establishment, it is implied, in the pamphlet to which we have made allusion, must be "ended or mended." Ended it may be; mended it cannot be. The forces at work for the preservation of its spiritual vitality are antagonistic to those which tend to its destruction. One or the other must prevail. We need not indicate which of them is likely to do so. We may, however, suggest, as our author does, for the comfort of members of the Evangelical school, that the Church and the Establishment are widely different things. The Church will lose nothing which is essential to her mission by her separation from the State. We doubt whether she will lose much even in the way of pecuniary support. The history of the Free Church of Scotland may reassure them. She certainly will not lose anything of her spiritual influence. In point of fact, she will eventually gain immensely by her loss; and giving up, or being compelled to give up, these attributes of hers which are of the earth, earthly, she will rise to a newness of beauty and life which will cause her to wonder at the blindness which has so long hidden from her sight the glorious position which by inheritance is hers.

#### ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

LAST Friday night there was an indication—this time of a positive character—that the Cabinet intend to reward the clergy, in a manner, for their political support. At the close of his speech, in introducing the Bill for the Valuation of Property and Rating Purposes, Mr. Sclater-Booth stated that it was proposed to place "a statutory enactment in the bill, that for the purposes of valuation, where the circumstances of the parish required it, the salary of the curate should be deducted from the moneys of the rector." Read between the lines, this simply means that the valuation of tithe rent-charges, glebes, &c., shall be reduced by the salaries paid to curates. We have made an estimate of what this may amount to, and it is that the nation, supposing this bill to pass, will make a present of from 50,000*l.* to perhaps 65,000*l.* a year to the incumbents of the National Church, by relieving them of that annual charge of taxation. Nothing is said as to the reason why the clergy only should be singled out for such an exceptional favour. Other people employ servants, but servants' wages are not allowed to be deducted from the income-tax, or any other taxation returns. We are inclined to think that Mr. Sclater-Booth has loaded his rating bill with a clause which may be sufficient to sink it altogether. Taxpayers are not particularly inclined to add to their burdens by paying the taxation due, and naturally due, from the clergy.

This is not the only ecclesiastical question that will come up. We have already referred to Mr. Osborne Morgan's resolution relating to the right of burial. Mr. Beresford Hope's Bill for the Increase of the Episcopate comes on to-day. Mr. Dillwyn will move its rejection, and will be well supported, while Mr. Monk—whether playing into the hands of Mr. Beresford Hope or not we need not inquire—will move an amendment to the effect that any proposal of the kind should emanate from Her Majesty's Government. Our readers will have seen what the Government reply is concerning Church endowments in Gibraltar, and Mr. McArthur, on Monday night, gave notice of bringing the ecclesiastical endowments of Ceylon before the House.

This brings us to a subject to which some attention should be paid. We have before us the *Overland Ceylon Observer* of December last. It contains nearly eight columns of a report of a Liberation meeting held in the Town Hall of Colombo, protesting against the Government grant made to the Episcopalian Church in that country. We are informed that at this meeting nearly all classes of the community—Europeans, Bengalese, Cingalese, and Tamils—were represented. The speaking was admirable. Never was better speaking heard at a Liberation conference—in fact, the speakers openly identified themselves with the Liberation movement in England. The chair was

taken by Mr. G. P. Leechman, Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, and the meeting was addressed by Mr. A. M. Ferguson, the Rev. J. Scott, Mr. J. H. Eaton, the Rev. T. R. Stevenson, etc. Appropriate resolutions were passed, and memorials to the Queen and to the Legislative Council were adopted. The facts stated in the memorial to the Queen would justify almost any action. There are, it appears, 2,158,595 non-Christian inhabitants of Ceylon, composed of Budhists, Hindus, Mahomedans, and Veddas. There are 250,000 nominal Christians, of whom 190,000 are Roman Catholics. The Protestants, the people to whom the grant is made, number only 15,000. To this small portion of the community about 14,000*l.* is given, and it is absorbed by three ex-bishops on pension, and one in expectancy, eleven chaplains of the Episcopalian Church, four chaplains of the Established Church of Scotland, six aided chaplaincies, fourteen catechists, a registrar and twelve pensioners. The Protestant denominations outside the borders of these two state-salaried sects, outnumber them by thousands, and yet both they and the heathens have to support them out of the local taxation. The day for this went by a long time ago.

Our attention is necessarily directed, once more, to Exeter, where Mr. Gordon, notwithstanding threats of arrest and the circulation of the most scandalous infernal libel, held a second meeting last Friday, and carried a resolution in favour of disestablishment. What one of the local journals says of the meeting will be found in another column. We have to give our own testimony, not only to Mr. Gordon's exceptional ability, but to the steadfastness of his courage and the unprovokable temper of his manner. There have been disorderly meetings elsewhere—notably at Skipton, about which we read at length in the *Craven Pioneer*, but space forbids us, this week, to quote.

Violence is not the worst weapon that may be used in public controversy. There is another. We quote from the *Cambrian News* (Feb. 4):—

A rumour has reached us which ought to be contradicted at once if it has no foundation in fact. It is said that the Church Defence Committee at Machynlleth have had a meeting, and resolved to bring any influence they possess to bear upon landlords, with a view of preventing farms and houses from being let to Dissenters. The way the thing is put is that Churchmen ought to have a preference over a Dissenter! There are at least fifty reasons why we hope the rumour is not true, and we make it thus public so that it may at once be denied, and its ill effects stopped. There is bitterness enough in the controversy already without unnecessarily importing more into it.

"Presbyter Anglicanus" does not, apparently, like to be in a minority of one, and there are some Churchmen who wish to prove that he is not and cannot be in such a minority. A correspondent of the *Morning Post* has called attention to the fact that several names in the recent Ritualistic protest appeared also amongst the 200 clergymen that openly negotiated with Rome in 1865 for reunion. These were members of an Association for Promoting the unity of Christendom. Dr. Littledale replies that the object was not the same as that pursued by the Presbyter, and he stigmatizes that person's pamphlet as "a servile petition." "Presbyter Anglicanus" has replied, but his reply amounts to little more than reminding Dr. Littledale and his co-signatories that it was in 1870 that Dr. Pusey wrote, asking, "Is Healthful Reunion Impossible?" The "Presbyter" is apparently sore that his old fellow-labourers should now "publicly repudiate" him.

We have to express a deep regret at the death of a foremost Yorkshireman—the Rev. David Loxton, of Sheffield. Many of our readers will remember Mr. Loxton's appearance at the Liberation Conference the year before last, and his remarkable address on the Church property question. Mr. Loxton, however, was much better known in Yorkshire than in London, and there men well knew and esteemed his high character and extraordinary power. We have quoted from the *Sheffield Independent* some account of Mr. Loxton's life; but we could not let the event pass by without giving our testimony to the lofty excellence both of his character and of his ability.

#### PROPOSED FORMATION OF ANGLICAN AND ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH BODIES AT GIBRALTAR.

The Ordinances which Mr. Dillwyn has asked the Colonial Office to lay before Parliament, before they receive the royal assent, were published in Gibraltar on Jan. 15, and copies have reached this country. They not only propose important changes in the positions of the Church of England and the Roman Catholics, but raise some new and important

questions, which are of interest at home, as well as in the colonies.

Mr. Brown Douglas, of Edinburgh, has published the following summary of this scheme:—

I. It is proposed to constitute at Gibraltar two new Church organizations. 1st. An Anglican Church body of churchwardens consisting of the bishop and the colonial chaplain for the time being, and four lay members. 2nd. A Roman Catholic Church body to consist of five members of the Roman Catholic community of Gibraltar, two clerical and three lay members.

II. It is proposed to vest in these bodies certain Church properties. In the Anglican body—(1) the Church of the Holy Trinity, built, I understand, to a considerable extent, out of public grants at an expense of about 15,000*l.*; (2) an annual sum of 500*l.* sterling to be granted by Her Majesty (this is part of the expenditure included in the colonial estimates); (3) a sum of 40*l.* to be voted by Parliament for military purposes, and other moneys received for the use of the said Church. In the Roman Catholic body it is to be vested—(1) the Roman Catholic Church properties now existing, as well as other lands or sites for building churches or chapels which may hereafter be granted by Her Majesty in Gibraltar for purposes religious and educational; (2) an annual sum of 500*l.* which is to be paid in monthly instalments to the Vicar-Apostolic of Gibraltar for the time being in consideration of the services rendered to civil servants. There are other provisions less important, but not undeserving of attention. For example, the boundary line between civil and ecclesiastical, fruitful source and subject of separation and dissension, is thus settled—"All matters connected with religious service are to be subject to Episcopal control; all temporal affairs of the Church are to be governed by the churchwardens." The organist is to receive 40*l.* a-year, the sexton, 36*l.*, and the present possessors of these offices, as well as the chaplain, are referred to as having life interests, and are declared entitled to retiring pensions. The delicate subject of conflict of jurisdiction in matters religious and temporal is left unprovided for in the constitution of the Roman Catholic body.

An important question naturally arises—What call is there for such an endowment? There is a large military force in this important garrison. I do not raise the point of the duty of Government to provide for its soldiers' spiritual privileges—Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, &c. They are sent abroad in the service of their country, and this provision has been recognised for many years. For a long time after 1704, when Gibraltar was taken, there was no Protestant place of worship. It was only in 1833 a church was built, and then I believe what is called a "civil" chaplain was appointed. Her Majesty's Government besides sanctioned the appointment of two military chaplains, receiving the pay and allowances of field officers. About thirty years ago, on the governor's representation, 300*l.* a-year was paid to a Roman Catholic chaplain for services to garrison troops, and eight years later, a Presbyterian church having been erected by voluntary contributions, 120*l.* a-year was granted to a Presbyterian minister. But the permanent endowment, and that of two religious bodies, placing them on an equal footing, though it seems to have been for some years under official consideration, is a new project; as far as practical effect being given to it is concerned, and should be duly weighed.

Mr. Brown, among other questions, asks:—

If the civil servants of the Government will not attend Church with their military comrades in the garrison, should they not provide churches and chaplains for themselves without burdening the nation? If the policy of disestablishment has been pursued to some extent in Ireland, Jamaica, and other colonies, why is an opposite policy to be adopted in Gibraltar? If there is to be concurrent endowment in the form proposed, ought not this to be adopted only after the subject has been fully and publicly discussed?

#### THE DISESTABLISHMENT MOVEMENT.

##### MR. J. H. GORDON AT EXETER AGAIN.

Mr. Gordon, according to his promise, visited Exeter again last Friday. We have had forwarded to us the following description of the meeting:—The whole question of right of orderly meeting was raised by this visit, and, on arrival there, after a long journey, Mr. Gordon soon discovered what excitement had prevailed since his previous visit—assault cases before the magistrates, deputations to the magistrates, special magistrates' meetings, no end of writing in the newspapers, scandalous placards, &c. In consequence of threatened refusal of claims for damages at the Victoria Hall, that place of meeting had been refused, and recourse had been had to the Temperance Hall, a lesser, but still large and convenient place of public assembly. Thirty or forty special constables had been sworn in, and through a file of these and the ordinary police you reached the hall, which a sort of terror seemed to enshroud. Nevertheless it was crowded to suffocation long before the time of meeting, and crowds stood outside and in groups along the streets, receiving and circulating reports of progress. Heavy fines had been inflicted, and the magistrates had threatened imprisonment next time, and, though Mr. Gordon had a terrible time of it in pitting his voice against the constant shouts and groans of portions of his audience, he got through in a fashion, having had a magnificent reception, and his friends nobly coming up to his support. The other side had been specially mustered by public circular, and, in the mouth of a clergyman, supported by a Tory agent, of both of whom Mr. Gordon made no inquest in his replies, submitted a resolution, to which Mr. Gordon at once wrote an amendment, which, whilst recognising the eminent services of many Churchmen, pronounced disestablishment and disendowment desirable for both Church and State, and this was carried, amid enthusiastic cheers, by a marked

majority. Everyway the triumph was complete, and the Tories growl accordingly. The literature of the whole struggle would stimulate Nonconformist readers everywhere. On Saturday, Mr. Petherick, solicitor to Mr. Gordon, issued a placard offering 10*l.* reward for such information as will lead to the discovery and conviction of the printer of a shameless libel. What will our readers say to the proposal, said to have been seriously made at a special magistrates' meeting on the day of lecture, that the best way to prevent a breach of the peace was to place Mr. Gordon under arrest as soon as he arrived! The local journals contain detailed reports of this meeting. The *Western Times* says:—

The punishment meted out to the offenders brought up at the Guildhall on the previous day, and the magisterial promise to commit to prison without the option of a fine the authors of future breaches of the peace, had probably their intended effect upon the lawless Church defenders of last week, and if they needed any proof that the justices intended "business," they had it in the presence of the body of special constables who supported the police assembled outside the hall. By seven o'clock a large number of persons mustered outside the gates, and the proceedings were diversified by Mr. Samuel Hutchinson, painter and decorator, pulling a bill out of his pocket and reading from it a question whether the lecturer was the individual who created a disturbance in Exeter on the night of the 3rd instant—the lecturer being on that night, by the way, engaged in delivering a lecture at Brixham. This caused some excitement and remonstrance, on which Hutchinson addressed himself to a young man in the crowd, and declared that he too had been among bad company in the same locality—he was willing to bet 5*l.* upon it. The individual thus addressed threatened Hutchinson with legal proceedings, but eventually gave him the opportunity of apologising. After a time Hutchinson appeared to think that discretion was the better part of valour, and on entering the hall he mounted the platform, and expressed regret that he had caused annoyance to a gentleman outside by addressing him in an improper manner, admitted the untruthfulness of what he had said, and begged to apologise. This announcement elicited applause.

Mr. Gordon, who, however, was constantly interrupted, delivered his lecture through.

The Rev. G. R. N. Lyne proposed that the Church was the great bulwark of civil and religious liberty, and ought by all means to be preserved, his main arguments being that if there were no Establishment there would be no guarantee for the observance of the Sabbath, and the country people would have none to preach to them. Mr. Wolfenden seconded the motion, and during his speech, "Beer and Bible," "Who floured the bishop?" and similar remarks were made, whilst, when he mentioned the Permissive Bill as a connection of the disestablishment movement, he was loudly recommended to leave "shop" at home. He asserted that the English clergy had never been Roman Catholic, that her clergy resolved their revenues from the private property of the Church, and that she had shown herself worthy of the trust reposed in her. The lecturer, in replying, challenged the accuracy of a Scriptural quotation of Mr. Lyne's, and dealing with the private property argument of Mr. Wolfenden, called upon him to name the donor of the Cornish fish and the reclaimed land tithes. Mr. Wolfenden here shouted, "I'll tell you directly," upon which he was invited to do so, and on coming to the front he promised to give the information when the lecturer had finished. Mr. Gordon having concluded his remarks, Mr. Wolfenden was again called to the front; now, however, he declined to give the information—the lecturer must think him, he said, a greenhorn to suppose he was going to be caught in such a trap. Remarks the reverse of complimentary were excited by this announcement, and Mr. Wolfenden was reminded that he had distinctly promised to give the names of the donors of the fish and reclaimed land tithes. After some time he said the lecturer had asked for information that he knew it was impossible for anyone to give, to which there was a general shout of "Why did you say you would tell us, then?" and much laughter at Mr. Wolfenden's expense, and that gentleman at last beat a retreat under the announcement that he would meet any statement the lecturer would put in writing. The lecturer having given Mr. Wolfenden a rather sharp dressing down, Mr. Bradbeer proposed, and Mr. Huxtable seconded, amid much interruption, that disestablishment and disendowment would be an advantage to both Church and State, and upon this being put to the meeting the chairman declared it carried, and the proceedings terminated amidst a good deal of noise.

##### OTHER MEETINGS.

We regret that we cannot report at any length the proceedings of other meetings, and can in fact only enumerate them. Besides visiting Exeter Mr. Gordon has been at Blockley, near Manchester, Elland, near Halifax, and Tavistock. This week he is in Norfolk. The Rev. Thomas Adams, of Daventry, has lectured at Frindon, Apsey Guise, and Lower Heyford. The Rev. Charles Williams has addressed a disorderly meeting at Craven, where Mr. Illingworth presided. Mr. George Kearley has visited Wiltshire, and lectured at Malmesbury, Downton, Bradford-on-Avon, and New Swindon. Mr. Macdougall has, we believe, lectured at Ashton. There has been a splendid meeting at Hartlepool—the largest ever held in the place. The Rev. Dr. Stock has been delivering a course of four lectures on disestablishment in the

Baptist Schoolroom, Longwood, Huddersfield, which were exceedingly well received. At the last meeting the lecturer received a very cordial vote of thanks, and in responding, the meeting, at Dr. Stock's suggestion, gave three hearty cheers for Mr. Leatham, the member for Huddersfield and "the eloquent champion of religious equality" in the House of Commons. We had prepared a report containing some of the most telling points of the lecture, but the exigencies of space have obliged us to withdraw it. Other meetings have been held at East Stockwith, Ashby, Amlewh, Llanfryd, Bethesda, Menai Bridge, Llanberis, &c.

#### THE BURIALS QUESTION.

The *Times*, remarking upon Mr. Osborne Morgan's abandonment of his motion to introduce the Burials Bill and the notice which he has given of his intention to move a resolution upon the subject, says it would be a public misfortune if, after the wary agitation which this question has aroused and the eager discussion it has undergone, another year should elapse without its being settled. The desire of the great majority of moderate men, whatever their party, is to remove once for all from the arena of political strife a question over which it is painful and discreditable that there should be any such conflict; and it is very possible that the course to which Mr. Osborne Morgan has been driven by circumstances may prove more advantageous than the introduction of a bill. The effect may be to elicit from the House of Commons such a decisive expression of assent to the main principle of throwing open the burial-grounds to other services than those of the Church of England as may convince all but the most obstinate upholders of extreme ecclesiastical claims that it is necessary to come to a timely arrangement.

The following prayer of a petition to the House of Commons from the inhabitants of Usk in Monmouthshire is well worth printing in our columns:—

That in the parish and borough of Usk there is a congregation attending the services of the Established Church, in the parish church, and that the burial-ground of the parish is an ancient burial-ground adjoining the church, and is of ample extent for the parish. That in this parish are congregations of the Church of Independents, of Wesleyans, of Baptists, and Roman Catholics. That by law, this ancient burial-ground of right is the sepulchre of all persons dying within the parish without regard to the religious society of which they are members; but a small burial-ground adjoins the Roman Catholic Chapel. That in ancient days the State acknowledged the existence of only one religious body, and by penalties compelled attendance on its services. That in later days religious congregations of different denominations have arisen, and are legally recognised; but the only religious service of the Church of England which is made compulsory on clergymen of the Church of England to read in the presence of members chiefly of all and different religious denominations is the burial service. That it would be a proper and laudable provision of the law to relieve the ministers of the Church of England of this duty when the families of members of other churches desire, at burials, to hear the prayerful and solemn utterances of their own accustomed ministers. That the law which denies religious ceremonies in parish churchyards on the burial of unbaptised infants or unbaptised adults, is a cruel and vindictive law, and a remnant of that system of especial persecution of Anabaptists, which marks with blood many pages of our national history, and consigned to prison for many years one of the greatest teachers of piety and mercy that has ever lived in England—the author of "Pilgrim's Progress." That the burial-grounds attached to the chapels of non-Established churches are private grounds, subject to the ordinary rules of alienation of private property, to mortgages, and to trusts, and are strong and obvious evidence of the necessity of a change in the present law. That there is no law among our statutes directing consecration, and there is no authorised form of consecration of churches or of burial-grounds known to the Established Church. The introduction of consecration after the Reformation is supposed to receive its earliest notice in the articles of impeachment against Archbishop Laud, and the earliest laws passed by Parliament recognising such a ceremony are to be found in very late Acts of Parliament relating to cemeteries whereby the separation of the dead bodies of members of the one Church from the dead bodies of members of the other Churches is cruelly sanctioned. That no act of misconduct has been witnessed on the burial of persons of different denominations in cemeteries. That the Act of 31 and 32 Victoria, chapter 103, sec. 1, authorises the ministers of any religious denomination in Ireland to read such prayers and perform such burial service at the grave in parish churchyards as is customary at the burial of persons belonging to such religious denominations. And that the provisions of the said Act may be extended to England and Wales your petitioners most humbly pray.

#### ECCLESIASTICAL MEASURES IN PARLIAMENT.

On Wednesday Mr. Osborne Morgan gave notice of the withdrawal of his Burials Bill, and of his intention on Friday, the 3rd of March, to move the following resolution:—"That the parish churchyards of England and Wales, having been by the common law of England appropriated to the use of the entire body of the parishioners, it is just and right, while making proper provision for the maintenance of order and decency, to permit the performance in such churchyards of other burial services than those of the Church of England, and by other persons than the ministers of that Church." To this Mr. J. Talbot will move an amendment declar-

ing that, considering the crowded state and insufficient area of many of the churchyards, it is desirable to make more provision for the supply of graveyards, such provision to be made by a cheaper and more simple method than that afforded by the Burials Bill.

Mr. Dixon has obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend the Education Act, 1870, by making compulsory in England and Wales the attendance of children at school and the formation of school boards.

Mr. Barclay has obtained leave to bring in a bill to remove the exemption of parish ministers in Scotland from payment of poor-rates and educational rates.

Mr. M'Lean has obtained leave to bring in a bill to abolish Church-rates in Scotland.

Mr. Newdegate has obtained leave to introduce a Bill for inquiry as to "monastic and conventional" institutions in Great Britain.

Mr. Wilbraham Egerton has obtained leave to bring in a bill to provide additional facilities for the performance of Divine worship according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England.

#### INCREASE OF THE EPISCOPATE BILL.

The following objections to this bill have been published:—

1. Notwithstanding the general conviction that the existing Episcopal system is unsuited to the present wants of the Church of England, and the circumstances of the English people, the bill provides for the multiplication of bishops of the same class, and having the same powers and duties, as the existing bishops.

2. The endowments of the new sees are to be provided, not merely by voluntary gifts, but by a redistribution of national property, which, but for such reappropriation, it would be in the power of Parliament to devote to purposes of greater public utility.

3. The bishops appointed under the bill will, equally with the existing bishops, be not merely the spiritual overseers of a Church, but functionaries of the State; appointed by the Crown; invested with legal authority, and exercising influence over all the inhabitants of their dioceses, and having special privileges not possessed by the ministers of other religious bodies.

4. Although not immediately, they will ultimately become peers of Parliament. They will, therefore, be chosen with a regard to political, as well as to religious considerations, and will be exposed to the injurious influences which already seriously interfere with the discharge of the spiritual duties of the Episcopate. They will also have the same power to obstruct measures for the political and social improvement of the people as has been possessed, and has commonly been exercised, by the occupants of the older sees.

5. The bill perpetuates, without any alteration, and thereby gives a fresh sanction to, the present mode of electing bishops—a mode described by many Episcopalians as "monstrous" and "blasphemous," and which is generally regarded with reprobation.

6. The bill authorises the erection of new ecclesiastical courts, which will have jurisdiction over all persons, and will be characterised by all the abuses and anomalies which have made those courts a reproach to our judicial system.

7. The bill provides for the erection, not of new bishoprics alone, but of deans and chapters, and other cathedral officials. It therefore extends the present cathedral system, which consumes a large amount of public property, without effecting a proportionate amount of public good.

8. The bill will be injurious to Churchmen, who, however much they may wish for an increase of bishops, feel more strongly the necessity for such changes in the regulation of the Church's affairs as will increase its efficiency as a spiritual agency. It attempts to effect no improvement, but stereotypes what has existed for centuries, and is condemned as inadequate, if not as absolutely pernicious.

9. The bill is unjust to those who do not belong to the Church of England; because it aims at increasing the influence of that Church by means of public authority, and public resources, which should be exercised and expended for the benefit of the people as a whole, and not for sectarian purposes.

#### CHURCH AND STATE ON THE CONTINENT.

Speaking of the electoral meetings now being held in Paris and throughout France, the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* says:—"Every general election has its party cry. What is that of this year? Assuredly an ominous one—it is the expulsion of the Jesuits, and the amnesty. Wherever you go—it is in the aristocratic quarter of the Champs Elysées, the business centre of the Place de la Bourse, or the revolutionary boulevards of Belleville—the same two words are in the mouth of every man who presents himself as a candidate. It may be worth stating, for the information of your impartial readers, that by the word 'Jesuit' the universal Republican understands every category of priest, and that he only selects this particular denomination because he knows it is the one which excites the greatest amount of odium. The separation of Church and State is only a secondary question to the universal Republican. He would subordinate the Church entirely to the State, pre-

vent it from acquiring property, founding schools, and obeying the Pope. This is what is meant by expulsion of the Jesuits. In a nation where the religious sentiment runs as high as ever, and where the Church has retained more influence than in any other country in the world, the manifestation of Radical intolerance is ominous of a coming conflict far more terrible than any which has been witnessed during the last three centuries."

It may appear strange (writes the Paris correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette*) to hear Radicals thundering against, and the Catholic party defending, liberty; but in considering the question of higher education it must not be forgotten that all freedom of association has long been forbidden in France except to the Church. The clergy alone have been able to found new colleges in opposition to those of the State. M. Spuller, in his address to the Paris electors, said, "Give us freedom of association, and we will let the Church alone." M. Lockroy on the 10th said:—

We demand the separation of Church and State and the suppression of the budget of public worship. This is the great question, citizens, and to adjourn its solution would be to create a social peril both at home and abroad. The danger would be less had the French Church remained what she was, and retained her Gallican franchises. She considered the Pope as the head of the bishops, but there was an authority above his authority—that of the council. Papal Infallibility did not then exist, and history relates the struggles of our Church against the encroachments of Rome.

After alluding to Pragmatic Sanctions and Concordats, the speaker went on to remark:—

All these acts had for their aim to guarantee the independence of the Gallican Church, and they were supported by men who were called Fénelon and Bossuet. One can conceive this French Church receiving from France salaries for its bishops; but once the Church belongs to Rome, how admit that the State should pay it with our money? (Great applause.) Thanks to the persistent efforts of a celebrated company—the Society of Jesus—in spite of the energetic protests of the last defenders of the Gallican Church, in spite of Pére Gratry, in spite of M. Dupanloup, who has since (laughter and approbation)—accepted the new dogmas proclaimed—that of the Immaculate Conception and Papal Infallibility—it was decided that a bishop should assume the place hitherto reserved for God. These great transformations operating in the bosom of the Church have greatly modified the position of Europe; free countries have shaken off her tutelage, and have rejected her interference. It will be dangerous for France not to imitate their example; and has she not received solemn warning? M. Lockroy then pointed out that the Syllabus was in contradiction to French law and custom, and said it would be a great misfortune should France, which had emancipated Europe and rendered other nations free, become the champion of clericalism.

M. Anspach, the burgomaster of Brussels, delivered on the 9th a lecture at the Association Libérale (the Liberal Electorating Club) on the Political Consequences of the Papal Infallibility Dogma. The audience was very numerous, and was composed of what may be called the élite of the citizens of Brussels. The burgomaster said that in the present grave and perilous circumstances all those who can resist the clerical torrent should energetically do their duty. Never before did the Belgian clergy show a greater hostility to the constitutional institutions of the country. Though the Catholic majority in the Chambers show moderation, the militant Catholic party—the clergy and the press—act with unheard-of violence. Attacks on civil marriage, pilgrimages, jubilee processions, legacy hunting, the multiplication of convents, so-called miraculous ecstasies—all these and other means are used to stir the fanaticism of the ignorant masses against existing institutions. This agitation dates from the proclamation of the Papal Infallibility dogma in 1870. In the Catholic University of Louvain teaching quite contrary to the institutions of the country is openly given. It is taught there that the clerical power is the superior of the civil power, as God is the superior of man; that the Pope has the right to depose kings; that liberty of conscience is an absolute right to believe the truth as taught only by the Catholic Church; that the Church is the sole competent judge of the circumstances which may admit toleration towards unbelievers; that the Church alone possesses the right of education in all schools—a right which she can never abdicate; that the right of forming associations is subject to the supervision of the Church; that all the political development since 1789, and all the laws made since then for the regulation of family matters are to be condemned; and that there ought to exist no difference between the conscience of the citizen and that of the Christian; so that a professing Christian owns, under all circumstances, absolute obedience to the teaching of the Church. The purpose of such teaching is plain. Rome is always and everywhere the same. The proclamation of the Infallibility dogma means war to modern civilisation, and especially to the institutions of Belgium. Now, if he (the burgomaster) were asked whether the Belgian clergy will succeed in their endeavour, he would answer, Never! (Here the burgomaster was interrupted by long and vehement applause.) The Fatherland will find its children ready and able to protect it from such ignominy, shame, and disgrace; and the final victory will be to those who defend the cause of liberty, order, and progress. (The burgomaster was enthusiastically cheered at the conclusion of his address.)

In the diocese of Mantua (Italy) fifty heads of families of the parish of Palidano recently entertained at a banquet their pastor, Don Paolo Orioli, and his curates. Toasts were drunk to the principle

of parochial picnics and to Mr. Gladstone, the illustrious English statesman, who had advocated and subsidised the cause.

Mr. William Howitt, who is now upwards of eighty, resides in Rome with his wife, Mary Howitt, the poetess, who is engaged upon a work which necessitates her residing in the Italian capital. Mr. Howitt has written a remarkable letter respecting the Pope, in which he says the American Catholic clergy were anxious that the Pope should send something to the Philadelphia Exhibition, so the Pope has consented to send a few specimens of mosaic and of tapestry. Cardinal Antonelli is commissioned to say that he would send more but for his "financial straits" and "the unfortunate deprivation of his States, of which he has been the victim." Mr. Howitt hereupon exclaims, "All this is in true beggars' whine, which the Church has made universal as far as its rule has extended. Deprivation of his States has been the finest thing in the world for him, and the means of working on the feelings of the whole Catholic universe, and of pouring into his coffers treasures such as his predecessors in their most halcyon times never possessed. The fiction of his miserable imprisonment, with his lying on rotten straw, the open sale of little bundles of these fabled straws in most Catholic countries, the photograph of him peeping through his prison bars, with a soldier, with a musket and bayonet fixed, on each side of him—all these outrageous lies have drawn an actual river of gold from the bosoms of the silly Papist pelicans that far outrivale the ancient Pactolus. By these means no less than twenty millions of francs have been poured into the Papal chest during the year of jubilee just passed, and all this described as the voluntary tribute of the faithful! And all this time this so-called miserable prisoner has been living in a palace of eleven thousand rooms, crammed with such wealth as never before was collected in one place, not even in the Bank of England. Treasures of gold, of silver, of all precious gems, of the most beautiful and noble works of art, statues, pictures by the finest masters, bronzes, coins, medals, crosses sparkling with the most valuable diamonds, rubies, emeralds, &c.; vessels and ornaments in silver and gold of the most exquisite workmanship, by such masters as Benvenuto Cellini, by the richest arras and tapestries, all these arranged in galleries miles in length, and this wretched prisoner attended by hundreds of guards in an old costume very like our Windsor Beefeaters, and by crowds of cardinals, monsignors, archbishops, bishops, priests, and lacqueys without end. As for money, besides the 20,000,000 francs paid in for Peter's pence and jubilee indulgences in 1875, the imbecile ex-Emperor of Austria has left him 3,000,000 dollars, and rich arras and gold vessels to adorn his chapel. The Duke of Modena, the father-in-law of the ex-King of Naples and Count Chambord, has made him his heir, and it is said he will derive 10,000£. sterling from that source annually. And yet the Pope has the unparalleled impudence to tell the Americans that he cannot send much to their Exhibition because of his poverty!"

**THE INCREASE OF THE EPISCOPATE.**—The Earl of Devon presided on Thursday at a conference of Churchmen, held at the National Society's Rooms, Broad Sanctuary, Westminster, in order to strengthen and promote the movement for the increase of the Episcopate now going on throughout the country. The attendance was large, and among those present were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Gloucester and Bristol, Lichfield, and Exeter; Lords Dartmouth, Harrowby, Nelson, Powis, Wharncliffe, Hatherley, and Eliot; Mr. Beresford Hope, and several other members of Parliament. Resolutions were passed declaring that "the spiritual necessities of England require a well-organised scheme for the increase of the home Episcopate," and that a memorial should be addressed to Her Majesty's Government soliciting their support for any well-considered measure that may be introduced for the extension of the home Episcopate and the redistribution and division of dioceses. A memorial to the Prime Minister, embodying the resolutions passed, was agreed to and signed by all present.

**THE DUKE OF NORFOLK AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.**—*Apropos* of the duke's appeal to English Protestants for assistance on behalf of the Romish priests of Germany in their war against the Falk Laws, the Rev. J. P. Hutchinson says in a letter to the *Sussex Daily News*:—"His Grace has established schools in the village of Houghton—a place not very far from his grace's seat at Arundel. The population of the place is principally Protestant. There are at present few Roman Catholics. Were the school conducted on principles consistent with individual liberty, it might be indeed a boon; but it would appear that something else is intended besides the instruction of the juvenile rurals in the three R's. The rule is strictly enforced that those who attend the Houghton day-schools must not on Sundays attend any Protestant place of worship. It matters not whether the parents attend the parish church or the Congregational chapel, the children must not accompany them. The children may be left in the house alone, or they may run wildly in the lanes; but to go to Houghton Church or Amberley Congregational Chapel is not permitted. I have been informed that not only has corporal chastisement been threatened, but that it has actually been administered, because the Protestant children of Protestant parents have attended a Protestant place of worship. On the other hand,

while there are threats for disobedience to the law, which, like that of the Medes and Persians, altereth not, there are tempting rewards to those children who submit to the rule. Let his grace the Duke of Norfolk remove this shameful restriction, and then he may with much better grace make an appeal to his countrymen, Protestants as well as Papists, on behalf of the victims of the Falk or any other laws."

**THE FOLKESTONE RITUAL CASE.**—On Sunday evening, long before the service commenced, every seat in St. Peter's Church, Folkestone, was occupied, and the greatest interest was manifested. The Rev. C. J. Ridsdale did not take a text, and, in the course of his address, he said that the Church must always be in contention and strife. Some thought they indulged in the garments of many colours simply to satisfy their own vanity, but there were great principles at stake. Their opponents wanted to do away with the doctrine of the Real Presence, and in order to do that they attacked ceremonial. The Bennett judgment had decided that that doctrine could be held in the Church; and so if all the ceremonial was done away with, there remained, even according to the court his opponents were so fond of appealing to, the doctrine untouched. He contended that the State had no power over the Church's spiritual government. Convocation was the true government of the Church. They must defend at all costs the doctrine of the Real Presence. That was their citadel which their opponents attacked, but the Purchas judgment showed that they were there in a stronghold. If it became necessary, it was the duty of the Church to defy the law of the land. Loyalty to God must be first and foremost in their attitude with the world. Where the voice of God pointed in a direct manner, it was the duty of the Church, if necessary, to disobey the State. This new court of inquisition might inflict pains and penalties, but it was their duty to remain true to the Church. Did they not say in the Creed, "I believe in the holy Catholic Church?" No State could interpret the Church laws, because from the very first the Church governed herself. If the State ruled the Church they might have a changed religion to-morrow, and the Church would be bound to receive the State's interpretation of the Bible and the Prayer-book. In the eleven charges preferred against him (Mr. Ridsdale) there were only three or four of vital importance, and his congregation must be prepared to defend the doctrines at any sacrifice. With regard to the rumour about going over to Rome, he believed that false rumour came from the enemy. This judgment affected the whole Church. The address was listened to with the greatest interest by an evidently sympathising congregation. In giving the Benediction, the reverend gentleman stood in front of the altar, on which were lighted candles, and made the sign of the Cross. At the morning service there was no change whatever in the ceremonies or the vestments.

## Religious and Denominational News.

### ENGLISH CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL BUILDING SOCIETY.

The twenty-second annual meeting of this society was held at the Memorial Hall, Farringdon-street, on Wednesday, Feb. 9, Josias Alexander, Esq., the treasurer, in the chair. A communication was made from John Crossley, Esq., M.P., chairman of the society, expressing his hearty sympathy and concurrence with the work of the institution and the proposals before the meeting, and his regret that circumstances beyond his control had prevented his being present.

The report for 1875 was presented by the secretary, the Rev. J. C. Gallaway, A.M. Thirty new cases had been adopted by the society and its Yorkshire auxiliary, giving a total of 478. Action had been taken by the committee in upwards of seventy cases, including Beaconsfield, Belfast, Bradford (two cases), Canterbury, Cardiff, Chertsey, Doncaster, East Dereham, Gloucester, Hornsea, Hull (two cases), Leicester, Maidstone, Middlesbrough (two cases), New Brompton, Newton Abbot, Nottingham, Oundle, Paignton, Portishead, Rawmarsh, South Cave, Southsea, Stone, Swansea (two cases), Swinton, Thornton (near Bradford), Tunbridge, Wednesbury, West Bromwich, Weston-super-Mare, Whitehaven, Wrentham. The society's aid to the work amounted up to that time to 130,000*l.*, of which 13,000*l.* remained to be paid as the conditions should from time to time be fulfilled, in aid of various cases. The total value of Church property which the institution had thus had the satisfaction of helping might be put at three-quarters of a million sterling, and taken as probably meeting the wants of nearly half-a-million of people. The report went on to refer to the connection between the society and the Congregational Union, and to the resolution strongly commanding its claims to the generous support of the churches, which was passed at the late autumnal meeting. The loan fund of 50,000*l.*, which began at 19,000*l.* in 1874, now stands at 27,000*l.* It is proposed to make the raising of an additional 10,000*l.* the special work of this year, the committee being encouraged by the offer of Mr. Crossley to give an additional 500*l.* if fifteen other gentlemen (five in all having promised) will do the same. The promises could be met at the rate of 100*l.* a-year. The leaving of legacies

having been referred to as a means of aiding the Loan Fund Scheme, also advances subject to life interest, Mr. Derby, of Sedgley, gave 300*l.*; Mr. Sommerville, of Bristol, gave 1,000*l.*; and Mr. Finch, of Tunbridge Wells, intends very shortly to contribute 1,000*l.* on this condition. In all such cases the committee sign an agreement binding the committee for the time being to pay interest during the lifetime of the donor. They have also decided to reopen the separate Irish Fund, which had already done much good. 2,000*l.* spread over some three or four years would be of great service in aiding to erect or improve places of worship in Ireland. The committee further propose to assist in the erection of fifty manse, to the extent of about a fourth of the cost, and ask for about 5,000*l.* in furtherance of the scheme. Some space in the report is devoted to the question of "Ecclesiastical Architecture." The committee state that they have never made the adoption of any particular style of architecture, or the employment of any particular architect, any condition of pecuniary aid. They have insisted on a thorough examination of plans, specification, and contract, and the presentation of a carefully-prepared professional report for due consideration prior to the commencement of the works and the signing of the contract, as indispensable to their monetary help; and in respect to architectural style and questions of taste only, have preferred as far as possible leaving the decision to building committees, just asking for consistency with the style selected, and, in all cases, the utmost regard to a genuine simplicity. In consequence of recent criticism upon the Gothic style, the committee defend the course they have taken, and aver that if truthful and adapted for the object in view, it is less costly, than any other acknowledged style, but whatever the style of the building, the main end of the whole thing is the salvation of men. The society labours ultimately for the highest good of our fellow men, and strives to have the churches erected under its auspices so stripped of mere sectional difference, and so free of all offence against good taste, that no man need be repelled by the building itself, but all may be attracted to enter and hear "the words of eternal life." While this is the main end of the work, it has also certain collateral bearings of great significance and worth, especially at the present time.

Of all questions now engaging public attention, probably the most exciting have to do with the pretensions of priesthood and State legislation in matters of religion. The multiplication of Free Churches, and more especially Congregational Churches, at such a time, cannot but have a considerable influence in both these directions. As the lay element in the Episcopal Church becomes more and more dissatisfied with the priestly and Ritualistic excesses within that communion, it will need and may seek such escape as our free system supplies; and as such buildings increase, and are continually meeting the public eye, the clearer and stronger will be the public conviction that State aid to religion is unnecessary, and that the distinction it makes between one section of the community and another is neither just nor patriotic. The English people (as we are told on good authority) are not ruled by logic; so that very much of the able reasoning on these great questions in the Press and on the platform is virtually inoperative on the many. But if not a logical, we are certainly a practical race, and do feel the force of plain facts. All can see our Free Churches, and all must feel more or less the force of the lessons which they unquestionably convey. Let this work of improved Free Church building continue to go on as it has done during the last twenty-five years, and these collateral bearings of the work will become increasingly telling; so that, material as the instrument is in itself, it will prove in the long run a real power in helping on the great changes in the spiritual and social life of this nation which evidently await us.

The audited balance-sheet for the past year was presented, showing gross receipts 8,777*l.*, and disbursements (including payments in aid of forty-four cases) 6,181*l.*, leaving a balance in the treasurers' hands of 2,593*l.*; besides securities for moneys advanced on loan without interest, in aid of various churches, to the amount of 6,980*l.*, repayable in annual instalments.

The Rev. A. HANNAY moved, and the Rev. R. T. VERRALL, B.A., seconded, the adoption of the report and the appointment of the committee and officers for the ensuing year.

The following resolution was moved by the Rev. J. PARKER, D.D.; seconded by the Rev. J. H. WILSON:

This meeting is gratified to learn that the proposed 50,000*l.* loan fund scheme is making progress, and that the total paid and promised now stands at 27,500*l.* This meeting would further call special attention to the generous offer of Handel Crossham, Esq., at the last autumnal meeting of the union, to be one of twenty to add 500*l.* each to the fund, and would respectfully recommend that the securing of this additional 10,000*l.* be (so far as this fund is concerned) the special work of 1876.

It was moved by the Rev. T. AVELING, D.D.; seconded by James Scrutton, Esq.:

This meeting cordially approves of the proposal to resuscitate the Irish fund, and would specially commend this effort to the help of churches in Lancashire, and all others specially interested in the evangelisation of the sister island.

It was moved by the Rev. E. STORROW, of Brighton, seconded by the Rev. W. S. H. FIELDEN:

This meeting approves of the intention of the committee to open a separate column to aid in the erection of ministers' houses where really needed, more especially in the rural districts; and recommends that an appeal be made to raise fifty manse in the course of the ensuing five years.

The last resolution, moved by the Rev. J. B. HEARD, M.A., seconded by the Rev. A. C. GILL, of Malvern, was as follows:

This meeting is glad to learn that the number of churches making collections, and the amount collected, were larger during the year 1875 than in any former year of the Society. This meeting, deeply regretting that some of the churches aided not only still neglect their duty in this matter, but fail even to reply to the Society's appeals, indulges the hope that the improvement during the past year is an omen for good; and that the day will yet arrive when not a single church aided by the Society will omit to send once a year some voluntary contribution to the common fund in aid of this pre-eminently useful work.

The congregation of Augustine Church, Edinburgh, are about to present their pastor, the Rev. Dr. William Lindsay Alexander, with a splendid timepiece, and a purse containing 15,000*l.*

The Rev. Henry Irving, of New College, London, has accepted an invitation to become the pastor of the Congregational Church, Snow-Hill, Wolverhampton, and intends commencing his duties the first Sunday in March.

The members of Tottenham-court-road Chapel held their annual tea-meeting on the 27th ult., when it was announced that the contributions of the congregation had amounted during the year to 2,300*l.*; the chapel was free from debt. The number of scholars in the Sunday-school was now so great that it would soon be necessary to have branch schools.

**WESLEYAN METHODISM.**—During the past year there has been an outlay in this kingdom of 828,592*l.* on chapels, schools, ministers' houses, and organs, towards which the sum of 261,312*l.* was raised by voluntary contributions. The outlay during the last twenty-one years has been 3,659,054*l.*, and the entire debt at the close of 1875 amounted to 894,577*l.*

**THE BISHOP OF EXETER** (Dr. Temple) was the special preacher before Cambridge University on Sunday, consequently the University Church of St. Mary's was crowded. Dr. Temple condemned speculations on doubtful points in religious study, showing how the belief in Purgatory arose from speculations of men's minds. He counselled students of religious truths to be satisfied with such facts in connection with religion as were undoubted, and to make a living power of such knowledge.

**THE UNION OF PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES.**—At a meeting of the Lancashire Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church, at Liverpool, on Monday, the Rev. Dr. Macleod announced that the arrangements had been completed for the projected union of the United Presbyterian Church with the English Presbyterian Church. A gentleman, it was stated, was prepared to give on the day of the union 25,000*l.* to start a Thanksgiving Fund, which it was likely would be increased to 100,000*l.* or 150,000*l.*

**HIGHBURY CHAPEL, BRISTOL.**—At the conclusion of morning service at Highbury Chapel, on Sunday, Mr. Christopher Godwin, the senior deacon, read a letter from the Rev. Arnold Thomas, of Ealing, accepting the invitation of the church to succeed his father, the late Rev. David Thomas, as pastor at that place of worship. We may mention that the requisition was extensively signed by the congregation, as well as by the members of the church. No date has been announced for the pastor-elect to commence his ministrations, but it is probable that Mr. Thomas will enter upon his new duties about a month hence. —*Bristol Mercury.*

**EAST LONDON.**—A committee has been formed with a view to raising a fund for discharging the debts on four places of worship in the East of London—Sion Chapel (Whitechapel-road), Mile-end-road Chapel, Burdett-road Church, and Bruce-road Chapel, Bromley. The amount required is 4,384*l.*, the total cost of the buildings having been about 18,000*l.* The four churches are in a healthy condition, and are actively engaged in many efforts for the spiritual good of their neighbours. Revs. Dr. Kennedy and W. Tyler, in their appeal, say that the churches in the East have not been wanting either in growing or in labouring, having during the last twelve years expended nearly 40,000*l.* in erecting, rebuilding, and repairing places of worship.

**THE BAPTISTS AT ROME.**—Another site has just been purchased for the purpose of building a second church in connection with the Baptist mission in Rome. The area measures 500 square yards, and is situated close to the ancient Basilica of Santa Pudenziana, of which Cardinal Wiseman was titular, and above part of the remains of the House of Pudens. In connection with the church will be a school-house, minister's residence, an establishment for sale of religious publications, &c. The minister to be appointed to the new church is the Baptist convert, the Rev. Paul Grassi, ex-canon of Maria Maggiore, who since his conversion has been especially employed in this locality of the Monte, and among other converts made by him has recently baptized two Roman Catholic ecclesiastics—one a parochial priest, now sent to work as evangelist at Civita Castellana, the other a Franciscan, now employed as a school teacher. The purchase-money sent from England has been paid down, and the building will be commenced immediately.

**BURDETT-ROAD, STEPNEY.**—A meeting for recognition of the church recently constituted in Burdett-road, and for commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the erection of the edifice, was held on Tuesday evening, Feb. 3, Thomas Scrutton, Esq., in the chair. In the course of the proceedings

the Rev. Dr. Kennedy gave a sketch of the history of the cause in Burdett-road. The site was purchased by Dr. Kennedy in 1864, the late Mr. Scrutton assuming the responsibilities of treasurer. The hall of the "Edinburgh Castle" public-house was hired for evangelistic services, which were continued for two winters. The memorial-stone was laid in September, 1865, and the church was opened in May, 1866. For some time a Sunday-school was taught in the chapel, but in May, 1872, the foundation-stone of new day and Sunday-schools, capable of containing 600 children, was laid by Mr. Thomas Scrutton, jun., who since the lamented death of his father in 1867, had undertaken the pecuniary responsibilities connected with the infant church—and the building was opened in November. The entire cost of these erections, including 600/- for the site, but not including a considerable sum for various furnishings, was 4,572/-. The entire debt remaining is about 715/-, a contribution of 350/- having been recently received from the fund which is now in course of being raised, and in which other three chapels are interested. Under the advice of the Congregational ministers of East London, it was arranged, as a temporary provision, that persons connected with the congregation at Burdett-road applying for church membership should be received into communion with the church at Stepney Meeting. The Rev. J. Lewis Pearce was appointed to the ministry on the 1st of November, 1870, and in November last it was decided that the time had arrived when the church should assume an independent existence. The church at Stepney Meeting-house acceded to an application to dismiss from its membership 206 brethren and sisters, who assembled on the 21st of January, under the presidency of Dr. Kennedy, in order to be constituted into a church, and the Rev. J. Lewis Pearce was then confirmed in the office of pastor. Interesting addresses of a fraternal character were delivered by the Rev. D. M. Jenkins, J. Bowrey, J. S. Watts, J. Chew, John Thomas, J. Chadburn; and cordial thanks were expressed by Mr. Pearce to Dr. Kennedy and the friends at Stepney Meeting-house for all the aid which had been for so many years afforded to this congregation.

King's Weigh House.—The annual meeting of the Weigh House Church and congregation was held on Thursday evening last, in the lecture-room, Fish-street Hill. There was a large gathering, including some whose recollections of the church date from a period anterior to that of the present erection, when the congregation had to ascend a flight of stairs before it reached what then appeared like a ground floor, but was really an erection above that floor, the latter having been formerly the scale on which goods were weighed by the King's beam. Tea was provided, and old friends met old friends, and heard of the welfare of others whom age, infirmity, or distance prevented from being present. The proceedings which followed were conducted wholly by those who regard the place as their spiritual home. The Rev. William Braden, the pastor, presided, and recalling the fact that he had, on the preceding Sunday, entered on the sixth year of his pastorate, adverted to the many reasons which existed for gratitude to God on the part of himself and those whom he addressed, the varied signs of prosperity which were manifest, (one of these being a large accession to the membership), his own sense of entire freedom in the exercise of his ministry, and his increasing pleasure in it. In illustration of his remarks he gave some details from the Church's hand-book, about to be issued, which showed that in varied ways the Weigh House is doing its own work, and is helping others also. Several prayer unions, for example, composed of young men in different branches of City business, meet here during the week, and seek, each company by itself, the strength which shall enable its members to act as Christian men in their several spheres of secular occupation. Mr. Sylvester, one of the deacons, gave a most encouraging statement as to the finances of the church, with respect both to sittings and the income from weekly offerings. He anticipated that at no very distant date every sitting would be let. The pastor was warmly congratulated by the several speakers on the success so manifestly following his ministrations. Mr. Martin, Dr. Hogg, and Dr. Pye-Smith, and other members bore witness to the manifest signs of prosperity which are apparent not only to every eye but to every ear, not unmindful of the beauty of a full congregational "service of song in the house of the Lord." This, indeed, was one of the features which seemed to have struck those who spoke. We may add that in the course of the evening there was repeated evidence of the fact that the Weigh House psalmody has undergone a real revival. Besides the speeches, there were, of course, devotional exercises; the anthems—for the people seemed too jubilant to sing aught but anthems—were rendered with a warmth, precision, and power which reminded one of the Weigh House singing in days long gone by.

THE LATE REV. JABEZ BURNS, D.D., LL.D.—A sermon in memory of the late Rev. Dr. Burns was preached by the Rev. J. P. Chown on Monday evening, in New Church-street Chapel, Paddington, for so many years the scene of the doctor's ministerial labours. The whole of the interior of the building was tastefully draped in black; and a congregation which filled it in every part, the vestries included, testified to the estimation in which the departed had been held. Mr. Chown took for his text Acts xiii. 36, "For David, after he had served his own generation according to the will of God, fell on sleep, and was laid to his fathers." Having re-

marked that God's chosen servants are often called from positions of the lowliest obscurity to those of the greatest honour, the preacher briefly alluded to the various services rendered by David to his generation, notwithstanding his shortcomings and transgressions, showing how even these had afterwards developed excellencies in his character which would not otherwise have come to light, so that even out of his humiliation there came the Divine praise. Mr. Chown then proceeded to apply the text to the career of their departed brother. He had served his generation, firstly in the consecration of his entire manhood as a Christian soldier. If there ever had been any one who had done everything heartily as to the Lord and not to men, such had been he. His religion had taken entire possession of him, so that it was not his voice alone that spoke—but the eye, the face, the whole man. There was nothing formal nor half-hearted about him; he was a whole-souled, full-hearted man. He served his generation, secondly, from himself as the centre, as must be the case with all true influence. From his own personal being, his convictions had extended to his family, where the sons were still treading in the father's footsteps. Above all things, let a Christian family be the dwelling-place of consistency and holiness; let no man have credit for more religion than he manifests in his family. The same influence had of course proceeded to the church of which he was minister, but of that Mr. Chown said that it would be an impertinence for him to attempt to speak on that occasion. But his influence was not limited to his church, but had spread far beyond it. He had served his generation, thirdly, in especial relation to the great temperance movement, to which he had devoted himself when it required more courage and holy daring than now. He had maintained his consistency and fidelity to it for about forty years, and his advocacy of it was Christian in its character and exalted in its love. He brought the question into the sanctuary, and made it the subject of a mass of Scriptural explanation and enforcement without parallel. The annual sermons he had always preached in that place to crowded audiences were, in their variety of character, a remarkable testimony to the power of that great question. Whether in connection with Bands of Hope, or the political aspects or social relationships of the question, his fertile spirit was ever ready. Dr. Lyman Beecher had preached six famous sermons on the subject, but Dr. Burns' thirty-five annual sermons were unique in their Scriptural treatment of it, and were in the highest form of temperance literature. He had served his generation, fourthly, eminently by the use of his pen. His unflagging perseverance was exemplified in the production of several series of volumes of sermons on such subjects as the types and miracles, besides those preached to the young and on special occasions, in addition to his works of assistance to ministers and students for the ministry, and such books as "The Christian's Daily Portion," "Light in the Sick Room," "The House of Mourning," "The Christian Philosopher," &c. He served his generation even to the end. He was smitten down while fulfilling an engagement in connection with the temperance movement. David, having served his generation, fell on sleep, and so had their brother.

DEATH OF THE REV. DAVID LOXTON, OF SHEFFIELD.—We regret to learn that on Friday morning the Rev. David Loxton, senior Congregationalist minister at Sheffield, died very suddenly at Southport, where he had been staying some months for his health. The rev. gentleman had been pastor at Mount Zion Chapel for twenty-five years. In an obituary notice of the deceased minister, the *Sheffield Independent* says:—Mr. Loxton was fifty-eight years of age, and on his last birthday he told some of his friends that that day forty years ago he preached his first sermon. He was born in London, and his inclinations being early towards the ministry he entered as a student at Highbury College, where he was a fellow-student with the Rev. Newman Hall, the Rev. J. W. Gates, of Masbro', and several others who have since taken a high position amongst the ministers of the Congregational body; and his college career gave even brighter promise than his subsequent career, successful as it was. His first charge was at Gainsborough, where he settled in 1840. He then removed to Liverpool, where he had not been for more than a year before he received a call to come to Sheffield. This he did not then accept, but two years afterwards it was repeated and accepted; and his ministry commenced at Mount Zion on the 24th of November, 1850. Nothing but death could have severed the connection which had so long existed between Mr. Loxton and his people. By them he was much beloved, and in return he laboured amongst them with a singleness of purpose and with an ability which won for him an enviable position amongst the ministers of the town. His twenty-five years' ministry was characterised by an entire absence of anything that could hinder his work or disturb the cordial relations which existed between himself and his congregation. During all that time there has been a more than ordinary feeling of affection between pastor and people—an affection which has of late increased as it became manifest that he was spending his strength, and must perhaps ere long be laid aside. He was perhaps of all the ministers we have known the most fearless in the expression of his opinions. Independence and originality of thought, and a fearlessness in stating it which

made him disregard all consequences, if satisfied that he was in the right, were amongst the most strongly-marked features of his character. This it was that made his preaching so much valued. In 1871 his congregation presented him with a testimonial on the completion of his twenty-first year's ministry among them, accompanied by a purse containing 180/-. It was to Mr. Loxton a matter of pride that he was "a political Dissenter"; and he would say in reply to those who taunted him with the fact, "Are not the clergy political Churchmen? They are the ministers of a political Church." In his profoundly logical mind he had closely reasoned out those questions of Church property which now agitate the country, and had come to the conclusion that it all belonged to the public. This position he ably and dauntlessly maintained against all comers, making no allowance for the extent to which the friction of everyday life must modify the conclusions of pure reason. Almost the last occasion on which Mr. Loxton appeared on a public platform was in the Albert Hall, on November 24, when Mr. Chamberlain delivered a forcible speech against the State Church. Brilliant as was Mr. Chamberlain in many of his passages there were not wanting those who, on leaving the meeting, remarked that Mr. Loxton's was the best speech of the evening. He carried his audience with him though he had to detain them towards the end of a long and exciting meeting, and the tones of his voice are probably now ringing in the ears of some who were fortunate enough to be then present. Mr. Loxton was a man of unusual mental power and varied excellency. As a fact, we know that he contented himself with the position and duties of a provincial Congregational minister. Though literature and the denomination may have lost by his reticence and comparative seclusion, the churches over which he has presided as pastor and teacher have thereby immensely gained. Of few public teachers in any church can it be said with an equal measure of truth, as is habitually said of Mr. Loxton, that he always said something profitable and suggestive which one could carry away and think over. His visits in times of trouble and affliction were always kind and sympathetic and highly appreciated. His presence and society on more festive occasions were a source of great enjoyment to his numerous and delighted circle of friends—the conversational discussions, the racy and appropriate anecdote, the genial humour which characterised his intercourse, never failing to impart their stimulus and charm to the whole circle. In the circle of ministerial intercourse and Church association his presence was always hailed and his influence for good felt and cordially recognised. In the larger gatherings of District Association and of the County Union, he was much respected and honoured, not only by virtue of his office, but for his wisdom and prudence in deliberation, and his consistency and power in debate. We need not say in these pages that Mr. Loxton was a consistent Nonconformist. Religion was to him in its nature so pure and spiritual that he could not tolerate its corporate alliance with anything so earthly and variable as political states. His sense of social justice was so vivid, and of religious equality so paramount, that he became, by a moral necessity, the uncompromising foe of all such alliances in every form.

### Correspondence.

#### FREEDOM EVEN WITH DISENDOWMENT.

V.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—I concluded my last letter by an expression of thankfulness for what I believe to be the Providentially-ordered position of Nonconformity in England.

It was, I think, the celebrated Radical, Cobbett, who said upon a certain occasion, "Thank God, we have a House of Lords." In a similar manner, I often feel disposed to say, High-Churchman as I am, "Thank God, we have Dissenters in England." Had it not been for them, belief in Christ's headship over His own Church, which He purchased with His own Blood, would have died out amongst us. People would have been so occupied in looking at the royal supremacy over the Church, which, if not in words, yet virtually amounts to the Sovereign's headship of the Church of England, that the Divine Headship over her and all churches would have been practically forgotten. I must confess I have long ceased to have any sympathy with the way in which the Ritualistic party attempt to maintain their ground in the English Church. I can see no jealousy for the headship of Christ in their, as it appears to me, tortuous policy. They plead before courts, which they say are secular courts and have no spiritual jurisdiction. But actions speak louder than words; and in the minds of all who have not sophisticated themselves with arguments which will not hold water, to plead before a court in any cause is to acknowledge its jurisdiction as to that particular matter about which you plead.

One hears them sometimes defend themselves by the example of St. Paul pleading before Nero. But

a moment's reflection convinces any average intellect that there is not the slightest parallel between the two cases. Saint Paul very properly submitted to the decision of the Emperor of Rome, the question whether or not the Jews had a right to put him, a Roman citizen, to death [because he believed in the Resurrection of Jesus Christ? This was a question which it was competent to any legitimately constituted] secular court to try. But would St. Paul have submitted to Nero or any other secular Power in the world the decision of the question of fact, whether Christ rose again from the dead, or of the doctrine which the Church has built upon that fact, that all men shall rise again with their bodies? The mere statement of the question seems to me an absolute demonstration of the absurdity of this Ritualistic argument.

I wish to ask the question simply and plainly—would St. Paul have consented to allow any secular court or any tribunal whatever, external to its constitution, to the Church, to decide whether or not Hymenaeus and Philetus were fit and proper persons to be admitted by him, to [holy communion? I trow not. I trow St. Paul would have died a hundred deaths rather than have submitted such a question to the Privy Council of his day. And yet Hymenaeus and Philetus were not such very dreadful heretics, according to our modern notions. They seem only to have held that the Resurrection was a great spiritual fact, in the sense of rising up from the death of sin, and living a new life in a risen Christ, rather than what I may call a physical operation, which is to take place at the end of the world. Such a heresy seems to me of indefinitely less importance than that attributed to Mr. Jenkins, of Clifton, whose case is now under the consideration of "my lords." How they may decide I cannot, of course, tell. But I should suppose they will decide that, whatever his doctrines may be, Mr. Jenkins is quite orthodox enough to communicate at the altars of our poor State Church of England. But, oh! the infinite degradation of it all! the fearful prostitution, and dragging in the mire of sacred things! of the Church herself, so far as she is, or, at least, ought to be, the mystical body of Christ and the Bride of the Lamb! There is not a petty sect throughout the length and breadth of Christendom that would submit for a moment to such indignity and such dishonour, not so much to themselves, and to man, as to our Master, and our great High Priest, the Lord Jesus, and to God! I would that I could make my words a torch which would kindle such a flame as would run like the fiery cross from one end of England to the other. Oh! that God would raise up some prophet amongst us, who would "cry aloud and spare not"; who would say in the name of the Lord—the Church of God must be free, free within her own spiritual sphere, free to manage her own concerns as they pertain to her doctrine, and discipline, and worship. And, I say, if the dear Church of England cannot have this spiritual freedom without sacrificing her endowments—then away with endowments, every penny, as more worthless than dross, as the golden chains which are the badge of her slavery, as the money which Simon Magus offered to Saint Peter, of which the apostle said, "Thy money perish with thee."

And here, again, I do not wish to be misunderstood. I am simply arguing for the independence of a branch of the Church of Christ in her own spiritual sphere. Whilst I dare not, with the Dean of Westminster, give the things of God to Caesar, by allowing those who need not be Christians to determine who are fit and proper persons to partake of the Supper of the Lord, which the Church of England calls the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, I have, on the other hand, not the slightest wish to give the determination of such questions to popes, or bishops, or priests exclusively. I only plead for liberty. And if the Church should think well to commit the enforcement of her discipline exclusively to laymen in full communion with her, I should be more than content.

High Churchmen are sometimes suspected of being too fond of the Pope. From my point of view, the Pope is a bishop. And I have no great confidence in bishops. If the Church of England should win her spiritual freedom from State control, it will be, I am afraid, not only without the assistance of our State-made prelates, but in spite of their opposition. Dr. J. H. Newman has shown how the bishops of the time of Constantine betrayed the Church of God. With few exceptions they have been doing the same ever since. I fear they will continue doing it to the end of the chapter.

But this is by the way. I am only saying it lest Dean Stanley, or any one who may read these letters, should imagine for a moment that I would propose to substitute for the yoke and the tyranny of a creedless State, the yoke of an autocratic and irresponsible episcopate, or priesthood. But why, I must ask again and again, should we not have the Church governing herself in spiritual things? Surely we belong to the great Anglo-Saxon race. We are never tired of boasting that we do. Would it be so utterly impossible for us to frame a system of representative government by which we appointed our own officers, and managed our own purely spiritual concerns? Why, there is not a coal and coke, or gas, or joint-stock tea company, throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire, which has not infinitely greater liberty than the English Church. And when the good Dean of Westminster pleads for State control, on the ground that a free Church would not tolerate him and his, I cannot help asking myself—"Is not his faith in his own principles remarkably weak?" For my part, I would not care to occupy a position which I believed I was only maintained in by authority external to the body in which I held that position. If Dr. Stanley chanced to be a director of a joint-stock tea company, I am sure he would feel his position a somewhat ignoble one, if he were only upheld in office by an Act of Parliament, in spite of the wishes of the members and shareholders of the company.

I, too, have often been told, when advocating disestablishment, that a free Church would never tolerate me, since I am far too extreme a Ritualist. I dare say my friends are quite right in their conjectures. But I can truly say this does not weigh a feather with me. I have faith in my principles that they are true. And, therefore, I cannot feel it right to take personal consequences into consideration.

#### A HIGH-CHURCH RECTOR.

#### A NEW STATE-GRANT TO THE ESTABLISHED CLERGY.

To the *Editor of the Nonconformist*.

SIR,—It is important that immediate attention should be drawn to the following statement of Mr. Solater-Booth on Friday night, in introducing a bill to amend the laws relating to the valuation of property for the purposes of laying rates and taxes:—

"A statutory enactment will be placed in the bill that, for the purposes of valuation, where the circumstances of the parish require it, the salary of the curate shall be deducted from the income of the rector."

This means that, in future, the rates paid by the clergy on their tithes will be reduced, by deducting the amount of the curates' salaries from the sums on which the rates are paid.

Of course, what is saved to the clergy will have to be paid by the other ratepayers. The charge is, therefore, equivalent to an addition to clerical incomes out of the rates and taxes. What the addition will be has not yet been calculated; but, at the lowest estimate, it will amount to several thousands a year. Nor is this all; for it will be easy hereafter to extend this principle, and so to satisfy to the full those clerical demands which Mr. Solater-Booth now says cannot be conceded.

Therefore, while "Church Defenders" are defying Liberationists to show that the Church receives a single sixpence from public sources, the Government which the clergy helped to place in power purposes to discharge its obligation to them by imposing new burdens on the ratepayers of the country.

Your obedient servant,  
J. CARVELL WILLIAMS.

Serjeants'-inn, Feb. 14, 1876.

#### THE STATE CHURCH IN THE RURAL DISTRICTS.

To the *Editor of the Nonconformist*.

SIR,—I certainly felt surprise when I read in your columns of Feb. 2 an extract from the *Leeds Mercury*, in which the editor seems to doubt the truth or the correctness of the Rev. Gervase Smith's statement in regard to the hardships and petty tyrannies imposed upon Dissenters generally, and Wesleyans in particular, by Churchmen throughout the rural districts of England. I am in no way connected with the Wesleyans as a body, and never have been; and, perhaps, I have less sympathy with them than is quite becoming in a Christian, on account of their constitutional tendencies churchward on all suitable occasions; and, what is worse, their proneness to leave other sec-

tions and representatives of Nonconformity out in the cold when they have opportunity.

And yet my convictions are so strong as to their enormous value throughout the length and breadth of rural England, that I believe we should relapse into barbarism and infidelity but for the persistent labours and aggressive efforts of the descendants of John Wesley. No man who can see and hear for himself can, I imagine, be so wilfully and episocally dull as to doubt the full truth of all the illustrated statements made use of by Mr. Smith in support of his assertion. Occupying, as I do, a certain vantage ground, I am perpetually and vividly confirmed in Mr. Smith's belief without the attestation of a single fact. I can see things from my own "watch-tower," and it is to me a painful and humiliating commentary on the time-serving instincts of a nation to witness how faithfully the creeds, or, more correctly, the religious notions of the "upper ten," are imported and copied by those next in degree, and so downward, but always stopping short of the residuum, or common people. "Men believe not after investigation and by conviction, but by dictation and on authority."

The upper, middle, and gentleman farmer classes in our provinces, on the *noblesse oblige* principle, generally espouse the cause of the clergyman and of the magnates of the place; but they would not so much as move a finger to rescue a Nonconformist from degradation and insult, however flagrant the case might be. And to this fact alone may be attributed, at all events, the perpetuation of the long catalogue of wrongs of which Mr. Smith complains. It is quite true that small tenant farmers and tradesmen suffer the most in the existing state of things. Servants and labourers have little to fear except from the withdrawal of benefactions and charities where at the disposal of the clergy. "Labour is plentiful, and one employer's money is as good as the next, and we won't be driven to church or chapel," has often been uttered in my hearing. Very different is it with a small tenant farmer. A certain well-known prelate, on his consecration to his diocese, dismissed three Wesleyan tenants of long standing, and placed Churchmen in their room. Upon being reminded of this his lordship said, "Their being Methodists had no more to do with their discharge than the colour of their hair, for," added he, "some of my own servants are Wesleyans." And he might have added, "I know the value of a good servant when I have him."

A large landed proprietor, well known to the writer, has a cook, a member of a Baptist Church. She suited him so well that nothing could induce him to part with her. Though constantly changing his tenants, he kept his cook; and throughout the wide extent of his ample estates not a single tenant enjoyed the same amount of religious freedom as did that Baptist cook. It was stated by an eminent writer only a few years ago that success in business in the provinces was almost rendered impossible to a Dissenter; that the cold shoulder of the gentleman, the civil sneer of the curate, and the suspicious glance of the dowager and the devotee, were the certain penalties of secession.

The end of such iniquities may be nearer than we imagine, and will, despite of all opposition, be precipitated when the mandate shall go forth, as it may at any moment "Unto the angel of the Church of the Laodiceans write."

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,  
A CLOSE OBSERVER.

February 14, 1876.

It is expected that a new High Church daily paper, the *Daily Express*, will appear this side of Easter.

The author of "Alice's Adventures in Wonderland" has a new book in the press. It is a poem which (as the *Pall Mall Gazette* bears) will furnish a good deal of original information about the jubjub bird and other creatures mentioned in the well-known poem "Jabberwocky." Indeed, the scene of the new poem is believed to be the island in which the Jabberwock met its fate. The work will be largely illustrated by Mr. Henry Holiday.

Yesterday in a Convocation of Oxford University a decree was passed by which Professor Max Muller will be relieved of all obligation to deliver lectures, though still required to reside during the academical year. It provides also for the nomination of a deputy, who is to receive one-half the salary of the Professor. Mr. Max Muller has undertaken to edit for the University Press all the sacred books of the world, except the Bible and the Chinese Scriptures, which last will be allotted to the eminent sinologue, Dr. Legge. The professor has been named a Commander of the Order of the Crown of Italy.

## DISESTABLISHMENT.

## GREAT MEETING IN EXETER HALL.

A public meeting was held in the evening in Exeter Hall, which was largely attended. The chair was taken, at half-past seven o'clock, by Ald. M'Arthur, M.P. A noticeable fact was the large attendance of men, though many ladies were present—especially in the side galleries and reserved seats. There were the usual rumours of contemplated opposition, and ample arrangements of a precautionary kind were made; but opposition there was none, the proceedings throughout being unanimous and enthusiastic. A large number of well-known public men were on the platform, but we have not space for their names.

In opening the proceedings, the CHAIRMAN said: Ladies and gentlemen, we are met this evening to hear addresses from the Rev. Messrs. Rogers and Dale on a great question that has latterly been assuming very large dimensions in the public eye, and that is destined, ere long, to be one of the leading questions, if not the question, of the day. (Cheers.) I refer to the disestablishment of the Church of England. (Renewed cheers.) In looking back upon the history of this country, and upon all the great reforms that have been accomplished, it strikes me very forcibly that all those great reforms have been slow in progress. Launched upon the public, by-and-by they have acquired more and more power; they have got hold of the public mind; they have grown every day in magnitude and importance, until at last they have been successfully carried. (Hear, hear.) Well, I believe that that will be the history of this great reform. I am quite satisfied, with all respect to the Nonconformist bodies of this country and to the Liberation Society, that they will never be able to carry this question. (Hear, hear.) They will assist in doing it; but there is a great power in this country, a power greater than the House of Commons, than the House of Lords, or even than the Throne itself—the public opinion of the people of England—("Hear, hear," and cheers)—and that public opinion must be thoroughly roused and enlisted, and we must appeal to the calm judgment of the people of England on this question, and prove to them that it is their interest that it should be carried. (Hear, hear.) How is this to be accomplished? It is to be accomplished, in the first place, by irresistible and established facts, and unanswerable arguments. We must appeal to the good sense and the judgment of the people of England, and do it calmly and temperately. (Cheers.) I rejoice to see such a magnificent assemblage as that which is now before me, and I believe you will give the gentlemen who are to address us a fair hearing. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Let me express a hope that in this controversy there will be no bitterness introduced, no unkind or angry feeling. (Hear, hear.) Why should it be so? Why should there not be good temper and Christian forbearance? The question is a great one. It rises far higher than sectarian prejudices or the strife of political parties, it is a great religious question affecting the very highest interest of the nation, and appealing to its calm judgment as to which system is best calculated to quicken the spiritual life, and meet the spiritual wants of the people of this country. (Cheers.) It is under the influence of these feelings that I take the chair, and in doing so, in the first place let me disclaim any feeling of hostility towards the Established Church of this country. I greatly esteem and have a very great respect for the Church of England. Some of my friends and relatives are in its ministry, and a large number of my dearest friends are found in its ranks; and it is because I wish to see the Church of England a greater power for good, a greater blessing to herself, and a greater blessing to the nation, that I advocate the measure that has brought us together to-night. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) The hon. gentleman then called attention to some of the advantages that would accrue from disestablishment. In the first place it would be a great blessing to the Church itself, as it would effect a more equal distribution of its revenues. (Hear, hear.) A few years ago, when he was Sheriff of London, a distinguished prelate had told him that there were no fewer than ten thousand clergymen of the Church of England, whose incomes did not exceed 100£. a year. (Shame.) Some improvement had, no doubt, taken place since then, but he had no hesitation in saying that the curates of the Church of England were the worst-paid clergy in England. (Hear, hear.) As a result of disestablishment, they would excite the sympathy, insure the aid, and call forth the liberality, of the richest laity to be found in the whole world. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) He rejoiced—and they must all rejoice—at the quickened life and activity that was manifested at present in many parts of the Church of England, both in the metropolis and throughout the country; but he firmly believed that a great amount of that quickened life and activity was due to volunteer effort, to the establishment and the building of churches by the laity, and in the support of those churches by the laity themselves. (Hear, hear.) And he thought if they would go over London and put their finger on those churches that were most distinguished for spiritual life and activity and power, they would find that they were the churches that had been most supported by the people. ("Hear, hear," and

cheers.) One of the greatest blessings resulting from disestablishment would be that the Church would be freed from the trammels of State control. It was humiliating to the Church itself to know that on all great questions affecting either its discipline or its government it must appeal to the tribunals of the land. (Hear, hear.) He believed that on the following day Mr. Beresford Hope was to bring forward a bill for the increase of the Episcopate. (Laughter.) This measure would be opposed by many of his own party; but if the Church was freed from the trammels of State control, they could appoint as many bishops as they pleased. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) Another great advantage resulting from disestablishment would be that they would be able to relieve the bishops from attending the House of Lords, and thus enable them to give more attention to their dioceses in order to make them as efficient as possible. (Hear, hear.) Another great result would be that there would be very powerful auxiliaries from the Church itself. He believed there was rising up in the Church a large party which felt the importance of the disestablishment movement, and he quoted some remarks recently made by Mr. Bright confirming this view. He also quoted several statistics relating to the state of the Canadian Church and the Church in Australia, together with the views of the colonial bishops, and also referred to the present prosperous state of the Episcopal Church in Ireland as showing the increased vitality of the Church which was consequent upon disestablishment. If such a change had taken place in Ireland, still greater things might be expected here. It was true in many respects that disestablishment would not promote the interests of Nonconformity, but it would prove a bright and happy era for the churches of the country. The Church with increased vigour would act upon all classes of the community in a way that it had never done before, and England, brought under the power of a holy, living Christianity, would be the glory of all lands and the praise of the whole earth. (Cheers.)

Mr. R. W. DALE, M.A., who was received with loud cheering, then said: This is the last of a series of meetings which Mr. Rogers and I engaged to attend on behalf of the Liberation Society. I should like this evening to say something about the kind of antagonism and criticism which this movement has to encounter from avowed defenders of the ecclesiastical Establishment of this country, and from those who accept our principles but disapprove of our aggressive policy. During this winter this society, I believe, has been more active than at any period of its past history. Lectures have been delivered, meetings held, and literature has been distributed in every part of the kingdom. Into whatever political apathy the nation generally may have sunk, it is clear that the Liberationists have lost nothing of their political zeal; and from whatever despondency the Liberal party may have been suffering—(laughter)—the courage and enthusiasm of the Liberationists are unabated. And I believe we have good reasons for our confidence. Our meetings have been greater in number and more numerously attended than ever, and the lecturers and speakers have been listened to with the greatest interest, and often with enthusiasm. It is quite clear that the friends of the ecclesiastical Establishment have now come to believe that this agitation must not be trifled with—(Hear, hear)—that it is a great political force. So far as Mr. Rogers and I are concerned, we have no great reason to complain of the manner in which our opponents have treated us. The Mayor of Plymouth was considerate enough to refuse us the use of the Guildhall, and he gave us such a meeting as Plymouth had not seen for many a long year. (Cheers.) At Liverpool there were two or three Orange lodges whose members found admission to the meeting, with the intention of preventing us from being heard. They made considerable uproar for a time, and they threw a solitary egg; but as I have said before, when a political party takes to throwing eggs in defence of its principles, and only has the courage to throw one, and that a good one—(laughter)—its prospects do not seem to me very brilliant. At Bristol the opposition we met with was rather more formidable. The "Conservative working men" sent out a whip to their friends; and some of the friends of the Establishment thought it fair and Christian to forge tickets for the reserved seats and the platform; but our printers detected the forgery, and the gentlemen who held them were obliged to be contented with less aristocratic places. (Laughter.) But although we have not had much trouble, other representatives of this society have not been so fortunate. At Exeter, a fortnight ago, a meeting which Mr. Gordon was addressing was violently broken up by his opponents, and I have noticed in the columns of the *Nonconformist* the records of other meetings which have been disturbed by positive violence. There seems to be a determination in some parts to deprive us, in relation to this question, of one of the first rights of Englishmen—the right of free speech, which is one of the great guarantees of public freedom and order in this country. Now, I do not complain that the discussion of this question should provoke great excitement. The question is so momentous, it touches such large and various interests, it affects an institution which has so strong a hold on the affections and imaginations of a vast number of Englishmen, that it is not reasonable for us to expect to be always listened to calmly. Many of our opponents, indeed, do not forget the claims of justice and the obligations of charity. They believe

that though we are agitating for the destruction of a politico-ecclesiastical Establishment, we are not enemies of the Christian faith, and that between us and them there are ties more sacred than those which arise from political sympathies, and too enduring to be destroyed by political antagonism. I am not surprised, however, that there are many excellent and cultivated men who do not show the same equitable and generous temper; and knowing the motives by which they are inspired, and the cause which they believe they are defending. I see something to admire even in the passionate zeal with which they oppose us, and the bitterness of their antagonism shall never blind me to the reality and earnestness of the piety of many of them, to the excellence of their personal character. But if we cannot have Christian charity all round, let us have English fair play, and I ask that not for ourselves so much as for our friends scattered through the rural districts of the country, who are grievously suffering from an illegitimate use of power on the part of those who are defending the Establishment. (Hear, hear.) In London you have very little conception of the petty annoyances, of the mean persecution, of the persistent oppression inflicted on multitudes in some parts of England who dare to avail themselves of the religious liberty which we have been accustomed to regard as one of the acknowledged and most sacred rights of Englishmen. It is two centuries since the Toleration Act was passed, but even toleration, to say nothing of religious equality, is unknown in some parts of England. (Cheers.) There was a letter in the *Times* a week or two ago which very fairly illustrates the spirit by which I am afraid many of the clergy are animated. There is a vicar in Somersetshire, who happens to be a member of the school board, and a lady applied for the appointment of a mistress under the board. She held a first-class certificate, she had received the highest commendation from Her Majesty's inspector, and, as the school was in a small village where such mistresses are hard to get, one would have supposed that the school board would have been eager to avail itself of her services. But she happened to say that she was a Dissenter, and on this ground alone the vicar, who appears to be either clerk or chairman of the board, refused her application, and he referred her to fourteen passages of Scripture in justification of his refusal. (Laughter.) But the most instructive part of the business is the defence which the vicar gives of his conduct in the *Times*, and it is for this reason that I refer to it. He says, "In the discharge of a duty entrusted to me by my parishioners, I decline to introduce a probable cause of strife in the shape of schism in petticoats. Had not Miss —— frankly avowed herself a Dissenter, she might have crept in unawares; but that with a board composed entirely of Churchmen would not have been pleasant." Now that is what a clergyman can say to the whole world in the columns of the *Times* newspaper. He has not the slightest conception that in refusing a public appointment to a Nonconformist he commits any injustice. The salary was not to be paid out of his pocket; it was to be paid out of the rates and taxes. (Hear, hear.) Now, Sir, I ask what chance has a Dissenter of getting a cottage to live in in that gentleman's parish? What chance has a Dissenter of getting any employment under a farmer over whom that gentleman can exert any influence? What chance of courtesy has a Dissenter from a gentleman—one of those enthusiastic English gentlemen—(laughter)—of whom Lord Selborne spoke some years ago—that the Establishment placed in every parish in England? This is only part of the great system of oppression, a system which has risen now to immense proportions, and which is inflicting most grievous injustice on vast numbers of persons all over the country. In some instances this system succeeds in destroying the manliness and integrity of those farmers. A friend of mine was telling me the other day that in Lincolnshire he was talking to a gentleman who farmed a large number of acres, about his relations to his landlord. The tenant was a Nonconformist, the landlord was a Churchman. My friend said, "How do you get on with your landlord?" "Oh," he said, "I get on very well; I vote as he wishes me. I think that a man who farms blue land ought to vote blue, and a man who farms yellow land ought to vote yellow." (Laughter.) I wonder whether that gentleman's landlord is satisfied with the results of his work? In attempting to defend the imaginary interests of the Ecclesiastical Establishment he has succeeded in corrupting and debauching the conscience of his tenant. (Laughter.) But most Dissenters happily have more fibre in them, and landlords know it, and they will have nothing to do with them. A friend of mine in Birmingham, a member of my congregation, a few months ago wanted to get a house in the country a few miles out of town. He saw a house advertised, and applied to the agent. Everything was going on very well until the agent asked him whether he was a Churchman. "No," he said, "I am a Dissenter." "Ah!" said the agent, "you had better not apply; you will have no chance of getting it." He tried for another house, and another agent gave him precisely the same answer. I have in my hand a copy of a letter addressed by a large land agent in London to a gentleman who applied for a farm in the eastern counties. You will like, perhaps, to hear what the letter contains. (Hear, hear.) "Dear Sir,—The rent, exclusive of tithe, to be paid

by the tenant, is £2000 a year, including the seventeen cottages; the drainage rates are paid by the landlord. Shooting is reserved, but the tenant may kill rabbits by trapping or ferreting when they damage him; but we never had a complaint yet from a tenant." Then there are some other arrangements of the kind described, till we come to this paragraph: "It is essential the tenant should be a Churchman, and have 10*l.* an acre of unencumbered capital." (Loud laughter and hisses.) Now I have another letter here—I am getting quite a collection of them. (Laughter.) This is the original letter; it is in the handwriting of the landlord, not of an agent; and I may say in explanation that the gentleman to whom it was addressed was in treaty for a house and land, that nearly everything was settled except the additional rent he was to pay for an additional field that he required, and he received from the landlord this letter:—"In reply to your letter of the 22nd inst., I write to say that before I put any rent upon my house and land, I should be glad to know whether you are a member of the Church of England and a supporter of the Church"—there is a distinction—(much laughter)—"also if in the event of my letting it to you you will be prepared at an election to support the Conservative party by voting for them, as I should not feel inclined to let the houses to any one who is not a good Churchman and a known Conservative." (Hisses.) I was asked to say something to-night about what would become of the religious interest of the villages if the Church were disestablished. There is a prior question which I want to know, if the Church is not disestablished soon what is to become of the religious liberty of the villages? (Cheers.) Steadily, silently, with all the secrecy of a conspiracy, through county after county this work is going forward. People wonder why Liberal members lose their seats in the counties. Ladies and gentlemen, these letters tell the reason. (Loud cheers.) Churchmen point to the decay of Nonconformity in rural districts, and tell us that Nonconformity can live only in town. Decay! it is persecution. (Loud cheers.) It is slow poisoning, and Churchmen who tell us that Nonconformity cannot live in rural districts should ask themselves how they can expect it to live in parishes where a clergyman happens to be of the vicar of Woolavington, and on estates having landlords like these whose letters I have just submitted to the meeting. So long as the law gives us simply toleration there will be multitudes of men all the country over who will give us very much less. That the Church should have taken that position is, I think, singularly unfortunate for their own cause. I am not going to discuss the Church property question to-night, but still I should like to say something about the line of defence which our opponents have taken. I do not believe in the permanent sacredness of any endowments whatever. (Hear, hear.) The wealth of the country belongs to the living and not to the dead. (Cheers.) It is expedient to encourage public spirit by engaging to protect under the authority of law appropriations of property for a considerable number of years after the death of the person by whom the property is given, but there must be some limit to the power granted to the men who have been in possession of property in one generation to determine how all succeeding generations should use it. If in the old Saxon times there had been a devout landlord possessing half the county of Middlesex, and he had devoted a tithe of his property to the end of time to the maintenance of the worship of Odin, I do not suppose that the most reverential admirer of our "pious ancestors" would insist that the tithes should be appropriated to that purpose now. It is hardly four centuries ago since John and Sebastian Cabot sailed out from the port of Bristol to discover a new world on the other side of the Atlantic, and Henry VII. granted to Cabot and his descendants to the end of time the exclusive right of carrying on trade with any countries that they might discover—(laughter)—and he also provided that the whole of the trade of those countries should be carried on from the port of Bristol. (Laughter.) I wonder how our friends at Liverpool who were so angry with Mr. Rogers and myself when we were there would like the wishes of those "pious ancestors" in that matter to be respected. (Much laughter.) I think that Henry VII. had just as much right to dispose of the trade of America to the end of time as people in Henry the Seventh's time had to dispose of the tithes, and of the land in England to the end of time. (Loud cheers.) The National Church is one of the political institutions of this country, like the House of Lords and the House of Commons. It is part of the ancient policy of England to have a national clergy with the duty of providing religious teaching, and the institutions of religious worship for the whole of the people. The teaching has been changed again and again, the worship has been changed again and again, not as the result of an appeal of any sect constituting the Church of England, but by the national will. The national church is not a sect, it is the church of the nation. The clergy are the servants of the nation like the judges, like the officers of the army and the navy. Its property, therefore, is the property of the nation, and if churchmen will claim the property of the church as though they were a sect, is for them to disestablish the church before its time. What we propose is that the revenues now appropriated to ecclesiastical purposes, should be vested in

local authorities and applied to general purposes of national interest under their control. It is a very modest estimate, I believe, of the revenues of the Establishment to say that they reach about six millions annually. I think a great deal might be done for the people of this country if all that income were at the disposal of the various municipal and civic authorities in the land. If the Church were disendowed, and they in London happen to be fortunate enough to have a fair share of ecclesiastical property in proportion to their population, you would have one-sixth of the whole present annual income of the Church to dispose of for local purposes, or one million per annum; and from the estimate submitted to the School Board of London last week I have calculated that in order to raise one million a year you would have to levy on your present assessment a shilling rate—nearly three times the rate of which you are so afraid when the London School Board asks for it for educational purposes. Let the vested rights of every bishop, dean, prebendary, canon, rector, and vicar in the Establishment be respected, but as those dignitaries die out we wish local authorities to come into the possession and disposal of their revenues. (Cheers.) I think it rather an unfortunate thing for themselves that our opponents should have put this property question in the fore-front of the battle, because, with the general impatience of rates all over the country, it would have been impossible for us to choose any line of argument more likely to secure the adhesion of the vast masses of the people to our cause. We are charged with being in advance of public opinion, but we are not so far in advance, perhaps, as some people suppose. I expect last Sunday morning there were as many people worshipping in buildings and listening to sermons outside the Established Church as inside. That means that the people who, for some reason or another, reject the ministrations of the Established clergy are as numerous as the people who accept them. It means more than that. There are vast numbers of those who attend worship in connection with the Established Church, whose attachment to that Church is subjected to no very severe and trying test. But look at the Nonconformists, and how is it with them? Every Nonconformist congregation has to erect its own building and maintain its own ministry, and if the members continue to separate themselves from the Establishment they have to pay very heavy penalties for their loyalty to conscience. Let all who attend Nonconformist places of worship come to apprehend that the ecclesiastical Establishment is a national institution for which they are just as responsible as for the administration of the Poor Law, and every man who goes to a Nonconformist chapel on the Sunday will go to the polling-booth on Monday to vote for Disestablishment. It is also perfectly certain that there are vast numbers of people who as soon as the question is fairly put to the nation, shall these ecclesiastical revenues continue to be devoted to ecclesiastical purposes, or to ends in which we have a common interest? will rally, whenever political leaders may choose to effect the disestablishment of the Church. One of the mightiest forces in our English national life is likely before long to lend its aid to our movement. Two sentiments are strongly rooted in the hearts of very large numbers of Englishmen—loyalty to the Church of England and abhorrence of the Church of Rome. (Cheers.) For three centuries these sentiments have been so blended as to appear inseparable. They are blended still. (Cheers.) The antagonism of the English people to Rome has lost nothing of its ancient intensity. (Much applause.) It may be latent for a time, but by a mere accident it may be kindled once more into a vehement enthusiasm. It was that antagonism which gave inspiration to the political power of our fathers when alone and unaided in Europe they defied the power of Spain; it was that which sent one King to the scaffold, and made another an exile at Versailles; it was that which achieved the revolution of 1688; and if it is ever made clear (and it seems likely to be made clear) to the English people that any considerable number of the clergy of the Ecclesiastical Establishment are untrue to the Protestant traditions of the English nation, be sure of it there will be a demand from every constituency in the country, calm at first, but passionate if it be long refused, for disestablishment and disendowment. (Long-continued applause.) I have just received a telegram saying that our candidate has won for Leominster—majority, eighty-five. (Loud applause.)

The Rev. J. G. ROCKS, B.A.: On this occasion I wish to speak on the position which we of the Liberal Society occupy to the Liberal party of this country. Looking at some past experiences it must sometimes seem as if it were quite as probable that the work of disestablishment would be done by the Conservative as by the Liberal Government, but we do not want a Tory solution of the question. It ought to be settled on a Liberal basis—on the basis of Liberal principles, the first of which I understand to be opposition to all class interests and to all exclusiveness in religious matters. Then it is said up and down the country by certain gentlemen, especially if they have filled high legal offices under the Crown in Liberal administrations, that we are troublers of the peace. They are impressed with the dangers to which the party is exposed from the wild crotches of extreme men—(laughter)—but I do not

think the great leaders of the party would give us the character of disturbers of the peace. I do not think that Lord Russell or Mr. Gladstone would say that we were so; and I am perfectly content to endure what Sir Henry James or Sir William Harcourt may be pleased to say to us. But there are moderate Liberals, no doubt, who are very much afraid that we are going to force their hand and the hand of their leaders. The Whigs have got so much into the habit of being "dished" that they are afraid that everybody will dish them. They were "dished" by Lord Derby, and they were afraid at some time or other that they would be dished by us. It is well we should have a clear understanding upon this point. I do not desire to force any premature movement upon the Liberal party. We are content to wait until we can see those who do not agree with us now brought up to the adoption of our views; but meantime we intend to have liberty of speech; we intend to utter our crotches wherever we have opportunity. We do not intend to come as Marplots into the electoral struggle. If we have ever been suspected of that, it has simply been because our Liberal leaders not only would not advance with us, but seemed disposed to retreat. We will not follow them in retreat—(loud cheers)—but we are quite prepared to wait until the time shall come in which they will be convinced. Why should not we wait? Everything is fighting for us; the stars in their courses are fighting for us; the clergymen in the Church of England are fighting for us. (Laughter and applause.) Tory tactics in almost every constituency of the kingdom are fighting for us; Church Defence Associations are fighting for us; events are all fighting for us; and we will wait until they have done their work, and then it will be found that we have not been working or speaking in vain. (Cheers.) But we have got to deal with a class of Liberals who tell us that the principle of disestablishment is contrary to Liberal principles. In the *Fortnightly* of the present month there is a very interesting article by a young gentleman who has been led out of the darkness of a Tory family into the certain light of Liberalism, and he thinks that he understands Liberal principles, and he has undertaken to instruct us in particular in relation to them, and in relation to this Church question. He thinks a reform is necessary, and he wants a church which is to be under local Government. That is a conception of an Establishment evidently in which all the deans, and even all the bishops shall be of the spirit of Dean Stanley, liberal, generous, and comprehensive; that is an idea of an establishment over which, of course, the Act of Uniformity is not to rule, and in which varieties of opinion shall therefore be as lawful as they are now constant and abundant. All I can say is, he has just as much chance of getting such an Establishment as the unhappy depositors of the Co-operative Credit Bank have of receiving their deposits back again. (Much laughter.) I must say that the credulity of people is to me something amusing. Mr. Brodrick, in the paper, asks three queries—(1) Whether the wisest Churchmen are not prepared to popularise and reform the Church system to any extent that is necessary in order to harmonise it with the political development of the nation and with the spiritual wants of each local community? (2) Whether the wisest Nonconformists are not prepared to accept such an ecclesiastical settlement as would bring Church affairs, with the disposition of National Church property, within the sphere and under the effective control of local government? (3) Whether the gulf between these lines of Church reform is so impassable that no statesmanship, though inspired by Liberal principles, can ever bridge it over? We hear a great deal about popularising the Church, and making advances to Nonconformists. I wish to ask what signs there are of this spirit of conciliation. We all know that the Wesleyans are, in the estimation of some gentlemen, an entirely different class of Nonconformists from all the rest of us. The one thing that seems to sit heavy upon the hearts of a great many Churchmen is that John Wesley was ever driven out of the Church, and the one desire that they seem to cherish is that his children should come back. Now, how do they treat our Wesleyan friends? With a great deal of soft sawdust we all know, but when the soft sawdust comes to be examined what does it amount to? Have any of you read the speech of the Rev. Gervase Smith, President of the Conference? Let that be my answer. Let the answer be that which Mr. Smith, of Owston Ferry, would not give till he was forced, to the Wesleyan ministers of the district. (Loud cheers.) But not only external conciliation, internal reform is suggested. What hopes are there of that? All the promises of reform are summed up in the line—They curse the evils which they cannot cure. They curse them for ever, but they do not cure them. A short time ago I happened to meet in a railway-carriage a gentleman of strongly-pronounced Church opinions, and he began to talk to me without knowing I was a Dissenter. However, by-and-bye that came out, and he said, "Well, but what do you Dissenters object to us for? There is nothing at all in our Prayer-book, I am certain, that any one of you can possibly object to." "Well," I said, "it is not necessary to go at any great length into a discussion of that kind. We will settle one point at a time. To begin with, I object to the Athanasian Creed." The good man

was dumbfounded instantly. So did he—(much laughter)—so do Dean Stanley and a large number of the bishops; so do a multitude of the clergy; and though they are bound by rubric to read it, a certain number of times in the year, they take care never to read it at all. But what has been done to purge the Prayer-book of that one thing? Why, they proposed simply to render the reading of it optional, and immediately there was a gathering of all classes and parties; St. James's Hall was crowded to the door, and that idea of reform even in that minute point, remains unaccomplished up to the present hour. Let the Bishop of Peterborough tell you of the evils of the Church of England, and what patronage means. He brought in a bill, but he could do nothing. Immediately the patrons met, and they said that if they did not do quite right the bishops were not free from blame, and the whole thing had to be dropped. So it is always; "they curse the evils which they cannot cure." (Cheers.) Mr. Brodrick's idea about bringing Church affairs and Church property under local government is merely a proposition that the affairs of the Church of Christ shall be converted into a province of Bumbledom. (Laughter and cheers.) I want to know who it is that is likely to agree to it. Of the 20,000 clergymen of the Church of England how many would muster on behalf of such a proposition? And of all our Nonconformists, who is there that would desire a settlement like that? Let the present thing stand rather than have an abuse like it. If so, what other reform are we going to have offered to us? We are able to judge of the disposition to meet Dissenters in the way Mr. Brodrick speaks of by looking at the conduct of the clergy in relation to the Burials Bill. (Hear, hear.) There are some people who say there is no grievance upon that question at all. I happened to turn up only this very day a passage in the writings of Sidney Smith in which he said forty years ago that every grievance of the Dissenters was extinguished, and he was very happy that they were at last in the condition of a people without a grievance. (Laughter.) It is a very remarkable thing that we have been redressing grievances ever since, and we are only come in sight of the goal just now, and that goal is this precious Burials Bill. I should think if it is a trouble for the clergymen to inter some of them. (Laughter.) I have got here a standard text-book on this question by the Rev. Canon Ryle, in which he says he could speak of parishes in which the position of the rector or vicar is made one of endless vexation in consequence of the presence of a Nonconformist chapel and a Nonconformist minister. The rector may be the soundest of divines, the best of preachers, the most active of pastors, the holiest of lives, the kindest of men; but from January to December he is carrying on his work in the face of unceasing, aggressive proselytism and petty opposition from the chapel. His people constantly complain to him that they are exposed to a perpetual fire of ridicule, sneering, and ill-natured language from their Nonconformist neighbours. If that is the state of things between the rector and his Dissenting parishioners, I say there is a greater grievance still—the grievance of compelling him to take his place at the grave side of one of these recusants, and to read over him those words of sympathy, and love, and hope, which the burial service of the Church of England contains. (Hear, hear.) Here was a point in which graceful concession might have been made. They might have taken a lesson from the conduct of the grand old Arab Sheikh, of whose negotiations with Abraham we read in the Book of Genesis, "Nay, my lord, hear me. The field I give it thee: all that there is therein I give it thee: in the presence of the sons of my people give I it thee: bury thy dead." (Loud cheers.) That was a heathen chief—an uncivilised man. We have to deal with bishops and clergy of the ancient Catholic and Apostolic Church of this country. How is it that they cannot have something of the grander spirit of the olden times? Instead of that, they stand shoulder to shoulder to fight the battle out. Sirs, they have chosen their ground; they have descended into it. The Lord hath delivered them into our hands. (Loud cheers.) We will fight the battle there. It is the last place in which we should have liked to have fought it; but they have chosen it, and they must abide the issue. Mr. Rogers concluded with a reference to Mr. Peck's speech at the London School Board meeting in reference to Mr. Bradlaugh being the leader of the secular education party, and with an eloquent appeal to the leaders of the Liberal party to assist in tearing down the walls or partitions which divide the people of England into hostile camps of Churchmen and Dissenters, that all might meet on one common ground, proud of the grandest names which any man on earth can bear—the names of the Christian and the Englishman. (Loud applause.)

MR. RICHARD, M.P., proposed:

That this meeting not only warmly thanks Mr. Dale and Mr. Rogers for their able and valuable addresses just delivered, but avails itself of the opportunity of acknowledging the signal services which those gentlemen have rendered to the cause of disestablishment by similar addresses which they have delivered to large audiences in the most important towns of the kingdom.

DR. UNDERHILL seconded the resolution, which was agreed to with enthusiastic applause, the whole audience standing up and cheering.

MR. DALE and MR. ROGERS having briefly acknowledged the vote of thanks,

The Rev. Dr. PARKER proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman in a speech which, though short, contained some capital points that were received with enthusiasm. Alluding to the proposal of silent burials, he said that the clergy were so enamoured of silence that they proposed to establish silence itself!

MR. CARVELL WILLIAMS seconded the vote, which was carried with acclamation, and briefly acknowledged.

#### FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

The submarine cable between Australia and New Zealand is now being laid.

It is stated that Mr. Rivers Wilson has accepted the post of financial adviser to the Khedive.

At the present time there are 23,000 unemployed workmen in Berlin!

A telegram from South Australia states that there has been a prolific harvest.

Acting upon instructions from the Earl of Derby, Mr. Cave has postponed his departure from Cairo until Monday next.

MR. MONCURE CONWAY has been invited to remain in the United States, and occupy the pulpit formerly filled by Theodore Parker.

Spotted Tail, chief of the Sioux Indians, has applied for space to erect 100-lodges in the grounds of the Philadelphia Exhibition!

The Serapis and Osborne have left Calcutta for Bombay in order to be in readiness for the embarkation of the Prince of Wales on his return to England, early next month.

According to the latest intelligence received at Cairo from Abyssinia, the Egyptian Army had reached a place named Gondurati in the telegrams, but which may probably have been Gondar.

After a continuous sitting of fifty-six hours the Ministry in Victoria (Australia) has succeeded in obtaining a vote for the supplies. There was great excitement, and many scenes occurred during the long-continued discussion.

An Imperial edict is published in the *Pekin Gazette* degrading General Lee-see-tai, and ordering him to proceed to Yenanfoo to take his trial for complicity in the murder of Mr. Margary.

At the opening of the Canadian Parliament, on Thursday, the Governor-General alluded to the depression of trade, and said that, as the financial situation had seriously affected the revenue, it would be necessary to diminish expenditure.

As a result of a victory obtained by the Russian troops near Assaka, in Khokand, on the 30th of January, Abdurahman Antobadshi and several other insurgent chiefs have surrendered to the Czar and sued for mercy. The victory is said to have created a deep sensation among the insurgents.

THE BEECHER CASE.—A telegram from New York in the *Daily News* says:—"The Congregational Church at Andover, in concert with the leading churches of several States, has taken steps to call a council for the thorough investigation of the charges brought against Mr. Beecher."

M. de Girardin's newspaper, *La France*, has been convicted of maliciously publishing false news, in stating that M. Buffet would resign and accept the governorship of the Bank of France, and has been sentenced to a fine of 1,000 francs and costs, and ordered to insert the judgment of the court at the head of its next issue.

COUNT ARNIM.—Sixty members of the Armin family have addressed a petition to the Emperor that His Majesty might take into consideration all the circumstances, and grant a pardon to Count Armin. The count himself has petitioned the Emperor, praying for permission to come to Berlin without danger of being arrested, in order to be with his son in his serious illness. His physician, however, forbids the journey.

THE HUNGARIANS AND THE HOME-RULERS.—Only a few of the Hungarian papers publish the sympathising telegram from the Home-Rule meeting in London with regard to Deak's death. The *New Pester Journal* declares the allusions to the relations between Ireland and England to be wanting in tact. "The union of Ireland with England," says that paper, "is in consequence of binding law, and the agitation of the Home-Rulers is against law; but Deak always contended for law, and never took part with Fenians and Home-Rulers."

GARIBALDI.—A correspondent of the *Lancet* states that the health of Garibaldi is not so good as it was. His medical advisers attribute the relapse to the anxiety undergone during the consideration and rejection of his Tiber scheme by the Government commission. Several Italian newspapers have been seized for publishing a speech delivered by General Garibaldi on Wednesday. The occasion was the anniversary of the Roman Republic of 1849, and the General proclaimed his continued faith in a Republic, saying that the Republicans had only submitted to the Monarchy for the sake of Italian unity.

GERMANY AND CHINA.—The German *Official Gazette* says that England, Russia, and the United States have promised their support to any steps which the German Envoy in China may have received authority to take with regard to the German schooner Anna, which was plundered off Foochow in September last by the Chinese. The joint action in Pekin as regards this affair (the *Official Gazette* says) will, it is hoped, not only obtain satisfaction for the outrage on the Anna, but convince the

Chinese Government of the necessity of taking in their own interest efficacious measures for the suppression of similar outrages in future.

BONAPARTIST QUARREL.—Prince Louis Napoleon has addressed a letter from Chislehurst to M. Piétri against Prince Napoleon's candidature in Corsica. "He comes forward," says the letter, "against my will; he relies on our enemies; I am forced to treat him as such." Prince Napoleon has issued an address to the electors of Ajaccio, replying to this letter. He says that the reason he is opposed by M. Rouher in the name of the Imperial party is that he does not consider the form of Government to be now in question. The Government exists, and he frankly accepts it. He does not do so from ambition or interested motives. His real motives are to be found in the convictions derived from the teaching of history and inspired by respect for the repose of France. What he desires is the organisation of the democracy. Outside of that he sees no salvation. He believes that the manifestation of the national sovereignty is a principle which belongs to no party. If returned, he will always be a democrat and partisan of progress. The *Agile*, which published Prince Louis Napoleon's letter, has been seized, and is to be prosecuted for publishing the proclamation issued by the late Emperor to the French people from Wilhelmshöhe in 1871.

THE SLAVE-TRADE ON THE EAST AFRICAN COAST.—The Supplementary Treaty between Her Majesty and the Sultan of Zanzibar for the suppression of the slave-trade has been issued from the Foreign Office; it consists of the following articles:—"1. The presence on board of a vessel of domestic slaves in attendance on or in discharge of the legitimate business of their masters, or of slaves *bond side* employed in the navigation of the vessel shall in no case of itself justify the seizure and condemnation of the vessel, provided that such slaves are not detained on board against their will. If any such slaves are detained on board against their will they shall be freed, but the vessel shall, nevertheless, not on that account alone be condemned. 2. All vessels found conveying slaves (other than domestic slaves in attendance on or in discharge of the legitimate business of their masters, or slaves *bond side* employed in the navigation of the vessels) to or from any port of his highness's dominions, or of any foreign country whether such slaves be destined for sale or not, shall be deemed guilty of carrying on the slave-trade and may be seized by any of Her Majesty's ships of war, and condemned by any British court exercising Admiralty jurisdiction."

#### ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

The election for Burnley took place on Saturday. The battle was fought by the Liberals on broad Liberal principles, independently of any particular measure, while that on the Conservative side was made to a very large extent a Church-and-State and religious-education fight. On Mr. Lindsay's side there was a picture of an open Bible, with the words, "Search the Scriptures," and "Thou shalt teach them to thy sons and to thy sons' sons." The following was the result of the poll:—

|                             |       |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| Mr. Rylands (Liberal) ..... | 3,520 |
|-----------------------------|-------|

|                                  |       |
|----------------------------------|-------|
| Mr. Lindsay (Conservative) ..... | 3,077 |
|----------------------------------|-------|

|                |     |
|----------------|-----|
| Majority ..... | 443 |
|----------------|-----|

Mr. Rylands returned thanks from the window of the house of Alderman Coulgate, the chairman of his committee; Mr. Lindsay from the Bull Hotel. The town was very quiet during the polling. There was a larger poll than at any previous contest, but Mr. Rylands' majority was 133 votes less than that of Mr. Shaw in 1874.

The canvass at Manchester on the part of both candidates is being prosecuted with much vigour. Mr. Jacob Bright, having been attacked on the ground that he was in favour of a low scale of wages to workmen, has thus replied:—"I will give 1,000 francs to anybody who will show that I have ever said that 14s. a week was enough for a working man. I am in favour of men being well paid. I believe that well-paid labour is the cheapest labour. If you care to go to our works at Rochdale now you will find women who are earning between 20s. and 30s. a week. The Tories are afraid they cannot beat me at this election by fair means, so they are trying foul. They are endeavouring to accomplish by the force of slander what they despair of doing by reason." The number of electors on the register is about 60,000. It is expected that a large proportion of the Irish votes will go for Mr. Bright, who is evidently the popular candidate. The nomination of candidates took place on Monday. Mr. Jacob Bright was nominated by Mr. Thomas Ashton and Sir Joseph Whitworth, and among his supporters were several leading merchants, Mr. Isaac Hoyle, a Wesleyan, and Mr. Robert Austin, a working man. Mr. F. S. Powell was nominated by Mr. W. M. Clare and Mr. Thomas Rose, and amongst his supporters were also a number of merchants; Mr. Haworth, a Wesleyan; Mr. Daniel Lee, a Roman Catholic; Mr. Wilson, a brewer; Mr. A. W. Callender, son of the late member; and Mr. Blatherwick, a working man and an Orangeman. The polling is fixed for to-morrow.

The election for Huntingdon took place yesterday, when Viscount Hinchingbrook was returned unopposed.

Mr. C. Darby Griffiths, of Padworth House, formerly M.P. for Devizes, has, upon a requisition

signed by the tenant farmers at Reading-market on Saturday, decided to contest the county as a Moderate Conservative, in opposition to Mr. Philip Wroughton, the Tory candidate. In his address he promises to support the efforts of Mr. Clare Sewell Read to prevent indiscriminate importation of Irish cattle, and he expresses his hostility to the excessive preservation of game. Mr. Griffith claims to be unfettered in regard to licensing legislation, and he thinks respectable licensed victuallers are as much opposed to drunkenness as himself. In regard to the Burials Bill he would endeavour to find a means of conciliating the views of all rational parties. The nomination takes place to-day, at Abingdon, and the polling should there be a contest, on the 23rd.

The nomination for the representation of Leominster took place on Saturday, when the following candidates were proposed: The Hon. Charles Spencer Bateman-Hanbury Kingsaid-Lennox (Conservative) and Mr. Thomas Blake (Liberal).

A meeting of the Conservative party was held at Retford on Saturday, when it was unanimously resolved to support Mr. William Beckett Denison—senior partner in the banking firm of Beckett and Company—as the Conservative candidate. The Liberals have decided to contest the seat, and the name of Lord Edward Clinton is mentioned as a probable candidate.

Viscount Crichton, the newly-appointed Lord of the Treasury, has issued an address to the electors of Enniskillen, soliciting a renewal of their confidence. He will probably be unopposed.

### Epitome of News.

On Sunday the Queen and Princess Beatrice attended Divine service in the private chapel, Windsor Castle. The Rev. Francis Pigou, the new vicar of Halifax, preached the sermon.

Her Majesty has named Saturday, March 25, as the date upon which she will probably leave England on her visit to the continent. Prior to that time the Queen will reside at Windsor Castle, paying an occasional visit to the metropolis. On the 3rd of March Her Majesty will open the new wing of the London Hospital, Whitechapel.

The Duke of Edinburgh will shortly assume the command of the Sultan, one of the Channel Fleet. The Sultan is now at Devonport, and will receive a visit at Portsmouth.

It is proposed to welcome the return of the Prince of Wales from India by a gathering of lord-lieutenants, high-sheriffs, members of Parliament, and mayors in London.

The Lord Chancellor and Lady Cairns dined on Monday with Her Majesty at Windsor Castle.

Mr. Whitbread's resolutions on the subject of fugitive slaves, as they now stand in the order-book of the House of Commons, are thus worded:—"1. That, in the opinion of this House, a slave once admitted to the protection of the British flag should be treated while on board one of Her Majesty's ships as if he were free, and should not be removed from or ordered to leave the ship on the ground of slavery." "2. That an humble address be presented to Her Majesty, humbly praying Her Majesty that all circulars, instructions, or orders heretofore issued contravening the foregoing resolution, or limiting the discretion of commanding officers in respect of the reception of such persons on board Her Majesty's ships, shall be withdrawn."

The Home Rule members of Parliament met at their committee-rooms on Friday to confer with Mr. Butt, M.P. and arrange a programme of Irish business for the session. It was determined to issue a special whip for Mr. Butt's Home Rule motion. The Council of the London Home Rule Association also met, and adopted measures for the organisation of a series of Home Rule demonstrations in London.

On Thursday the London Court of Common Council resolved to subscribe for ten free scholarships of the value of £40 a year each, for five years, in the National Training School of Music.

The annual return of the vessels lost and missing during 1875 shows a marked decrease in disasters compared with the return for the previous year. The number of vessels known to have been lost was 2,553, compared with 3,109 in 1874. The number of missing ships is 82, or 46 fewer than in 1874.

Sir John Taylor Coleridge died on Friday morning at his seat near Ottery St. Mary, Devon. Sir John, who was a nephew of the celebrated poet, was born in 1790, and was educated at Oxford, where he obtained a first-class in classics in 1812. He was called to the Bar in 1819, and went the Western Circuit, where he obtained an extensive practice. In 1835, he was appointed one of the judges of the King's Bench, and, on his retirement from that position in 1858, he was appointed a Privy Councillor. Besides his legal avocations, Sir John Coleridge in early life devoted much of his time to literature, and was some time editor of the *Quarterly Review*, to which he contributed many papers. He also published a valuable edition of Blackstone's *Commentaries*, and in 1869 a memoir of the Rev. John Keble also appeared from his hand, and had a very large sale. It is almost unnecessary to state that Lord Coleridge, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas Division of the Court of Justice, is a son of the deceased.

Miss Cort, a lady who resided in the suburbs of Liverpool, has just died, leaving a large sum of money to the Liverpool charities. The total

amount bequeathed is £25,500, and the money is divided amongst twenty-four of the charitable institutions of the town.

The navy estimates for 1876-7 have been prepared. Although a considerable number of vessels are building in private and royal dockyards, it is understood that it is only on the vote for repairing ships now laid up in reserve that the estimates will be largely increased.

The Duke of Abercorn was a guest at the Lord Mayor of Dublin's banquet on Thursday, and was well received. Crime, he said, was decreasing. Foreign capital was timid in entering the country, yet nowhere could capital be invested more safely. The country suffered in reputation for the sins of a few. Outrages were dying out. The country was prosperous. The harvest had been good—the banks were paying 12 per cent. Pleuro-pneumonia, the cases of which were 281 in 1875, had been 443 in 1874. The Government were prepared to deal liberally with Ireland, and to found a department of science and art similar to that in Edinburgh, joining all the Dublin institutions together and making a liberal provision for them both by a building grant and a yearly allowance. The Lord Lieutenant sat down amidst general cheers.

Mr. Lowe, speaking on Thursday night at the Fishmongers' Hall, in returning thanks for the toast of the House of Commons, strongly advocated the organization of a municipal government for the whole of London, as preferable in every way to the existing state of things.

London was visited on Friday by a dense black fog. Vehicular traffic was carried on with difficulty, and traffic on the river was stopped. Several accidents occurred in the streets, but fortunately none of a fatal character. The fog prevailed in the suburbs of London, and extended far over the country. At Oxford the fog was so thick as to prevent any rowing on the part of University Boat crew worthy of notice. At Chatham a convict took advantage of the weather and made his escape, but he was soon recaptured.

On Saturday and Sunday the thermometer was at freezing point, and snow fell on Sunday night. The roads were soon in a deplorable condition, and in some parts of London traffic was stopped. The fall of snow appears to have been general throughout England. In Scotland it was very heavy, and there has been a keen frost there.

The Board of Trade returns for the month of January shows that the manufactures and commerce of the country are still in a depressed state. The value of the month's imports was £30,873,000, being £701,000 less than in the corresponding period of 1875. The value of our exports was £6,654,000, or £22,000 below the returns of January last year. The enormous excess of imports over exports seems to foreshadow an outflow of gold at no distant date.

Mr. Phillips Jodrell, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, offers two or more exhibitions of £25. a year each, tenable for three years, to be given for proficiency in the Cambridge local examinations in December next, to girls who are preparing for the profession of teaching. Two or more exhibitions of a similar value to women preparing for teaching are also offered. Mr. Jodrell offers also to lend money without interest, sufficient to defray the expenses of residence and instruction in Cambridge, the condition being that the exhibitor is unable to do so.

Richard Banner Oakley, the founder of the Co-operative Credit Bank, who stands charged with obtaining by false pretences the sum of £700 from Miss Matthews and £700 from Mr. Horatio Richard Snelgrove, was brought before the Lord Mayor, at the Mansion House, on Saturday, and, on the conclusion of the proceedings, further remanded, bail being refused.

Mr. Plimsoll, speaking at a meeting at Derby, on Saturday night, dwelt at some length and in detail on the want of water-tight bulkheads in iron ships, and the loss of life arising therefrom; also on the danger of grain cargoes, and the storage of gunpowder on shipboard.

A meeting of representatives of Devonshire landowners was held at Exeter on Thursday afternoon, at which the Agricultural Holdings Act was discussed. A resolution was passed recognising the value of the measure, as dealing with matters requiring adjustment between landlord and tenant, but suggesting the adoption of a more satisfactory form of agreement based upon the principles of the Act.

It is likely that the Agricultural Holdings Act will be adopted by the principal landlords of Suffolk. Lord Henniker has informed his tenantry of his intention to have agreements prepared to carry out its enactments in every case on his estate. Sir Edward Kerrison, at his rent audit dinner, announced that he did not intend to contract himself out of the Act, and gave his tenants the option of contracting under it, or of giving him notice to hire under their present agreement, with twelve months instead of six months' notice to quit.

The important freehold property known as the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, containing an area of 6,500 feet, has been disposed of by Messrs. Farebrother, Ellis, Clarke, and Co., to the directors of the Royal Bank of Scotland for £80,000.

Bishop Ellcott, who has lately announced his adhesion to the United Kingdom Alliance, is the third supporter of the Permissive Bill now to be found on the Episcopal Bench, Bishops Temple and Fraser being the others.

At a meeting of the South Wales Conciliation Board, held on Saturday at Cardiff, it was resolved

to reduce colliers' wages in the South Wales and Monmouthshire coal field in proportions varying from 12 to 33 per cent. It is believed the reduction will be accepted by the steam-coal workers of Aberdare and Merthyr, but fears are entertained of difficulty with the house coal colliers of the Rhondda Valley.

While a number of half-drunk men were holding a spelling bee at a public-house near Durham two of them quarrelled over the word "Hibernian." A man named Donelly had his skull fractured, and has since died.

The sum of £2,700 has been subscribed in Norfolk to the fund which is being raised for a testimonial to Mr. C. S. Read, M.P. A subscription of £20. was announced on Friday from the Bishop of Norwich.

The minister of the parish of St. Cyrus, Scotland, has distributed what is known as the "marriage money," being the interest of a sum left by a Mr. Orr, of Bridgeton, to the oldest, the youngest, the tallest, and the shortest woman, belonging to the parish, who had been married in the parish church during the year. Each received £1. 3s.

In the Queen's Bench Division, on Saturday, Miss Thompson, the painter of the "Roll Call," obtained an order to expunge from the register of the Stationers' Society the copyright of that famous picture, which had been assigned to Messrs. Dickenson and Co. for £1,200. in ignorance of her having no copyright in the picture which she sold for £100. to Mr. Galloway, who subsequently sold it for the same sum to Her Majesty.

Ten fresh cases of typhoid fever have been reported in Bolton, all directly traceable to the consumption of milk from Mrs. Kershaw's farm. A father and four children have been stricken in one house. No more deaths have occurred at Hasley, but five of the sufferers there are in a very critical condition. Up to the present time 172 persons have been attacked, of whom fifty are in Bolton. The Local Government Board have written to the urban authorities for full particulars of the outbreak.

This year's Civil Service estimates have been issued. The total amount required from the several classes for the twelve months ending March 31, 1877, is £13,308,855, a net increase over the sum appropriated for the expiring year to the extent of £98,774. The increase in the education grants for England is £66,976.; and for Scotland, £4,722. For Ireland there is an increase in the vote for public education of £1,581.

Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, president of the Royal Geographical Society presided at a crowded meeting of the society in the theatre of the University of London on Monday, and stated that provision had been made for conveying Lieutenant Cameron's fifty-seven followers to Zanzibar, and that their leader might be expected to arrive in England within the next week or ten days, in the event of his coming direct. Otherwise, should he go first to Madeira, he would not be in England before Easter.

The following will be the members of the Royal Commission to inquire into Her Majesty's engagements with other States and other matters connected with slavery and the slave-trade:—the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Robert Phillimore, Mr. Justice Archibald, Sir Henry Holland, Sir George Campbell, Sir Henry Maine, Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, Mr. Rothery, the Right Hon. Mountague Bernard, Rear-Admiral of the Fleet Sir Leopold Heath, and the Hon. Alfred Thesiger.

We are authorised to say that there is no foundation whatever for any of the various intimations that have appeared in the public prints, that Mr. Gladstone is engaged upon a theological work. We understand that the few brief intervals of leisure Mr. Gladstone can command are given to the slow preparation of a work which he proposes to call "Thesaurus Homerikos," and which will aim at setting forth, in a form convenient for reference, the vast stores of fact (in a large construction of the words), or what the Germans call the "realism" of the poems.—*Guardian*.

A statute has been proposed in connection with the University of Oxford for creating a new chair, that of Professor of Chinese, and appointing to it the Rev. Dr. James Legge, whose name will be familiar to all our readers as a devoted missionary in China, and for his intimate acquaintance with the literature of that Empire. It is to be remarked that the appointment has not yet been made; the statute referred to having to be submitted for the sanction of Convocation on the 22nd. The emoluments of Dr. Legge, if appointed, will consist of the interest of £3,000, which certain persons interested in promoting the study of Chinese, and who are understood to be London merchants who have to do with trade with China, propose to pay him for life, or so long as he retains the office; of £100. per annum from the University chest, and of the emoluments of a fellowship offered by Corpus Christi College on the same conditions.

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\* The unusual demand upon our space this week has unavoidably excluded several communications which are in type.

**The Nonconformist.**

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1876.

#### SUMMARY.

SINCE the debate on the Address, the proceedings of Parliament have been quiet and lacking in general interest. The Government have, however, taken time by the forelock. The two bills relative to the merchant shipping interest have been introduced under favourable circumstances, but will both no doubt be keenly criticised, if not opposed, at subsequent stages. We have discussed their chief provisions elsewhere. The ministerial measures for amending the laws relating to the valuation of property for rating purposes—which, as will be seen from a letter in another column, contains one extraordinary proposal—and for dealing with the enclosure of commons, have also been brought in,

In the Upper House the Lord Chancellor has explained the new scheme for strengthening the final court of appeal. Though the judicial functions of that assembly are not abolished, they are considerably curtailed. The House of Lords is to sit as a court of appeal during the whole of the legal year instead of the session only; and with a view to reinforce the judicial functions of the House, two life-peers are to be created, eventually to be increased to four. The bill does credit to the ingenuity of Lord Cairns, and will certainly strengthen the Court of Final Appeal; and we may suppose that, as Lord Salisbury is a member of the Cabinet which introduces the measure, the once-formidable objections to the creation of life peers have vanished into thin air. It has been a week of rehearsals in Parliament—even the discussion on the purchase of the Suez Canal shares having been only preliminary. Ere long the real drama will commence.

The considerable borough of Burnley and the smaller constituency of Leominster, have, during the week, returned Liberal members. Mr. Rylands, who has done so much service in promoting economical expenditure, was returned by a majority of 443. Mr. Blake comes in for Leominster by a majority of 85 (434 to 349) over his aristocratic opponent, who seems to have regarded the place as a pocket borough. The two new members are heartily in favour of disestablishment; and should Mr. Jacob Bright be chosen to-morrow to fill the vacancy at Manchester, as is generally expected, three staunch supporters of religious equality will have been returned within one week! There is another county vacancy (Berkshire) and another candidate to advocate the cause of the tenant farmers. Mr. Darby Griffith may not stand much chance, but his appeal to the electors of Berkshire on principles which are hardly distinguishable from mild Liberalism is in itself a portent.

Yesterday's conference of the friends of religious equality at Westminster was supplemented in the evening by an enthusiastic public meeting in Exeter Hall (reported elsewhere) to hear addresses on disestablishment from Messrs. Dale and Rogers. We have neither time nor space to advert further to the subject, beyond saying that at the close a very cordial vote of thanks was passed to these gentlemen for "the signal services" they have rendered to the cause of disestablishment by the series of meetings which they have lately attended in the most important towns of the kingdom; which vote was accepted by the rising of the entire audience and rounds of vehement applause.

France is graciously allowed a short interval of public meetings prior to elections. That period is now closed, and a week of quiet reflection will be followed by the ballot for the new Chamber of Deputies. We need not try to forecast a result so near at hand. On the one hand, M. Gambetta has been making good use of his eloquent voice to enforce moderate counsels on the Republicans; on the other, M. Buffet has been exhibiting his usual intolerance by forcing M. Renault, the very able Prefect of Police, to resign, either because he does not as a candidate sufficiently identify himself with a moribund Government, or because that politician is marked out by discerning men as M. Buffet's probable successor.

The conflict in the north of Spain has been resumed, and there seems no reason to doubt the reports that the Carlists are being out-generalised, and quite baffled by superior numbers. Some of their strong positions on the frontiers have been taken by French connivance, and the cannon of the Alfonists have begun to boom against even the walls of Estella. The best proof of the success of these military movements is the open reference of the young King on opening the Cortes, to the occupation of the Provinces of Biscay, Alava, and the greater part of Navarre—the Carlists being "hemmed in in the Pyrenees"—and His Majesty's intimation that he himself is about to proceed to the north "to contribute towards the restoration of peace."

The Sultan has formally accepted the Andrássy Note, and has published an Iradé putting its provisions in force, except that which requires the spending of the local revenue from direct taxation on local objects, for which increased imperial grants for local objects will be substituted. A mixed commission to see to the execution of these reforms will be appointed; and then, it appears, Austria will come upon the scene. The Vienna Government have announced that, after the expected complete amnesty has been conceded by the Porte, all the refugees will be sent back to Herzegovina. Already military measures are being taken in Croatia and Dalmatia to prepare

against the contingency of the insurgents declining to lay down arms. Evidently the Great Powers are serious in their resolution to promote the pacification of the disturbed districts, as well as to see that the promised reforms are actually carried out.

#### DEBATE ON THE SUEZ CANAL SHARES.

ON Monday last the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after a very concise, but in the main, a luminous speech, moved a vote of 4,080,000l. for the purchase of the Suez Canal Shares. He imported into his speech some new information, but he left comparatively unexplained certain points which it is thought desirable to sift and elucidate before the vote is finally taken. These points may, perhaps, be best stated in the words of Mr. Gladstone:— "What is the position into which we are to enter as shareholders? What are the legal rights we possess as shareholders? and what are the legal remedies to which we shall be entitled as shareholders? In what courts and under what conditions and circumstances will those rights be asserted, and those remedies granted?" The ground taken by the leader of the Opposition was one for delay with a view to further knowledge, and, after a little fencing, Mr. Disraeli consented to the postponement of the debate until Monday next.

As yet no member of the Opposition has assailed the purchase of the Suez Canal Shares on the political side of the transaction. We shall hear more of this, no doubt, as the debate proceeds. The further information demanded scarcely touches that aspect of the question. It is as a financial and administrative bargain that hesitation is avowed by the leaders of the Opposition; and it must be avowed that whilst this is open to some searching criticism, and will doubtless encounter it, the British public did not from the first, and do not now, lay much stress upon the considerations either for or against this feature of the contract. The purchase, owing to the necessity of events, was a hasty one. The sum paid for the Khedive's shares might possibly have been smaller than it has been if time had been allowed for further negotiation and deliberation. The measure of control to be exercised in virtue of the shares over the business of the company might have been more powerful than it is, at any rate as far as the actual number of votes is concerned; and the hold of the British Government on the administration of the company's affairs might have been made more effectual than it seems to have been. These somewhat unsatisfactory results appear to have been due, less to any lack of foresight on the part of the British Ministers, than to the urgent conditions by which they felt their freedom of action restrained. Public opinion, however, is disinclined to dwell upon these subjects. The final action of the Government, even if it were incapable of justification in a financial point of view, is accepted with favour for political reasons. It is felt that the transaction will immensely facilitate our intercourse with India. In the councils of the directors, the wishes of by far the largest shareholders, by far the wealthiest, and by far the most interested in promoting the permanent object of the company, cannot but have great effect in contributing to a healthy administration of the concern; and there seems to be little doubt that in this respect many of the technical deficiencies attaching to the bargain made by Her Majesty's Government will be gradually made good.

But the Chancellor of the Exchequer put a very fair case before the Committee of the House of Commons in support of the financial wisdom of the purchase. He showed by an array of figures that the Suez Canal is a work the use of which has already yielded pecuniary returns which the shareholders may regard as a reliable promise to them of future prosperity. The company originally allotted to it 8,000,000l. of capital in what may be called "open" shares; in addition to which bonds have been issued for accrued interest amounting to 1,360,000l., and loans have been raised amounting to 4,480,000l., in all, 13,840,000l. On the other hand, including interest and capital, 19,000,000l. has been expended, the difference of 5,160,000l. being provided by the Khedive. In addition to this, the company has lands granted to it of 4,000,000l. in value. In the early period of the operations it had the advantage of forced labour, valued at 750,000l., and in other ways the Khedive has contributed 4,750,000l. or, on the whole, some 10,000,000l., for which he receives no return. No one can, therefore, wonder at his pecuniary embarrassments. The company, however, is not materially affected by it. It

had a loan capital of 4,430,000*l.* It had assets for 4,000,000*l.* value, so that its original capital became free of charge, and the profits were available for dividends. These have risen gradually from a deficit of 383,000*l.* in 1870, to surplus of 322,000*l.* in 1874; and the traffic has risen from 219 ships of a tonnage of 291,000 in 1870 to 892 ships of 1,209,500 tons in 1874, of which the British proportion was about 73 per cent. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes to keep the transaction apart from the ordinary finance of the year; to borrow the money from the National Debt Commissioners, and to repay to them 200,000*l.* a-year, the interest receivable from the Khedive, by which arrangement he calculates that in thirty-five years we shall have extinguished the loan, and shall possess the shares free from all liability.

We have thus run over the summary of figures gathered by the *Times* from the ample explanations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech. If they can be fully substantiated, Her Majesty's Government will be thereby vindicated from the charge of having made a bad financial bargain. But whether or no, as we have already intimated, this is not the point of view in which the public take the deepest interest. It may, perhaps, be difficult to show with precision what are the political advantages which are expected to grow out of the transaction. It would be much easier to prove what would have been the disadvantages arising out of the purchase of the Khedive's shares by a foreign company. Our commerce to the East, to say nothing of our military communications therewith, might then have been obstructed in many conceivable ways. As a defensive measure the purchase is supported by various and strong considerations, and there can be little doubt that after searching discussion it will receive the deliberate sanction of the House of Commons.

#### THE COST OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

THE national enthusiasm for education seems at the present moment to be suffering a check somewhat similar to that which paralyses the conviviality of a party at Greenwich or Richmond when, with an air indicating a regretful sense of duty, the waiter hands in the bill. It seems but the other day that public meetings in all parts of the country were eagerly applauding eloquent descriptions of full schools and empty prisons, of the gospel of the three R's, and of the ladder that was to reach from the gutter to the University. And now nothing is heard but doleful groans from overburdened ratepayers, and jeremiads from the Conservative Press in the "I-told-you-so" style proper to a tragic chorus. A nation which with a light heart throws four millions into the Suez Canal seems in danger of being startled out of propriety and consistency by the cost of its elementary schools. These fears have been specially stimulated during the last few days by the publication of the annual budget of the School Board for London. The enormous scale upon which the operations of this board are conducted, is supposed to furnish a fair criterion of the rate of expenditure to be generally expected if school boards become universal. This assumption does not seem to be very well grounded. For land and building operations are alike much more costly in the metropolis than in most other great towns, to say nothing of the country. The expense also of carrying out compulsory bye-laws is much greater in a human wilderness where the individual is lost, than in villages or small towns where the affairs of everyone are known. Besides, a salary which in most parts of the country would enable a teacher not only to present a respectable appearance, but even to live in comfort would in London leave him exposed to all the worst tortures of genteel poverty. There is, therefore, a strong probability that school board work can always be done in the country for very much less than the lowest necessary expenditure in London. Still it is worth while to examine the figures which even Liberal papers have agreed to consider "startling."

It appears then that whereas the School Board demanded last year from the rating authorities the sum of 263,713*l.*, it demands this year 398,867*l.*, being an increase of over 135,000*l.* The whole of this increase, however, is not to be put down to the coming year. For it appears that the Board had under-estimated its requirements for the past year to the extent of 69,345*l.* This debt has to be discharged by the income of the coming year, and the net increase in the estimate is thus reduced to about 66,000*l.* For this we have school-buildings and instruction provided for about 22,000 children additional. That goes a long way to account for the increase in the estimate;

though, of course, there are several other minor items which we cannot here particularise. Thus, considering that the Board is in the course of providing for the instruction of 150,000 children, none of whom have had the means of efficient instruction before, we do not think there is anything very alarming in the growth of expenditure as between one year and another. But the enormous deficiency of 69,000*l.* in the expiring year's estimates does undoubtedly arrest attention and demand explanation. The chairman of the finance committee stated that of this sum more than 53,000*l.* was absorbed by the unexpected growth of the amounts paid for salaries to teachers. There is an obscurity about this explanation, which we have at present no means of clearing up. If it means that this money has been spent in an unpremeditated fit of benevolence by raising salaries all round, the teachers are uncommonly lucky mortals, whatever may be the case with the ratepayers. But we cannot believe that this is the meaning. The sum above mentioned if divided amongst the twelve or thirteen hundred certificated teachers under the board, would give them 40*l.* apiece and still leave a margin for additional pay to pupil-teachers as well. We shall require better evidence before we believe that the school board has been thus generous, even with other people's money. There is certainly some obscurity hanging over this item, perhaps owing to the excessive abbreviation of reports.

The cost of enforcing the bye-laws—nearly 25,000*l.*—seems to us somewhat a questionable item. We should not say so if there were work to show for the money. But we cannot admit that there is. It is scarcely sufficient to prove, what is, no doubt, the fact, that the average attendance at efficient schools in London has increased by upwards of 100,000. The board itself has already provided new schools for about that number of children; and we surely cannot suppose that, apart from the action of the bye-laws, they would have all remained empty. We cannot in justice credit the bye-law staff with more than the difference between the probable spontaneous flow into new schools and the actual attainment by means of the legal forcing-pump. The probability is that if that difference could be ascertained it would be found very costly at 25,000*l.* a year. Meantime, irregularity and unpunctuality of attendance, though certainly reduced, remain very discouraging. And such improvement as there is appears to be owing quite as much to the action of public opinion, and perhaps the greater attractiveness of the new schools, as to any activity of school beadle. We are not opposed to compulsion; but we fancy we shall not be alone in thinking that it ought to be made either more effective or less expensive.

But under any circumstances it must be frankly admitted that the cost of elementary education is likely to be much heavier than was supposed six years ago. We cannot, indeed, believe that the salaries of teachers are rising even in London at the rate of 40*l.* a-year. But the law of supply and demand operates in such matters as well as on the market. It could not be expected that a sudden demand could be made to double the army of teachers without increasing their individual cost. But for a considerable part of that increase the clerical supporters of denominationalism have themselves to blame. For amidst a rapidly increasing demand they have insisted on restricting the sources of supply. Their jealousy has been the main reason why the idea of a national training college has been rejected. Meanwhile the existing institutions, which with exceptions of about one in ten are strictly sectarian, are altogether inadequate to meet the demand for mistresses, if not for masters. Nearly every college has twice as many applicants for admission as it can possibly accommodate, and every student becomes an object of competition amongst several schools. Of course, under such circumstances salaries necessarily go up, and the clergy suffer the consequences. If they had allowed the project of a national training institution to take its course they would probably have been able to secure teachers more cheaply, and so their pet denominationalism would have had a better chance. But their obstructiveness has forced up the cost, and now they cry to the State for more money. Indeed, it is not at all unlikely that under the vague phrase "legislation on primary education" in the Queen's Speech there lurks some project for meeting their demands. Whatever may be the monetary issue, let no Liberals be daunted by the growth of our educational expenditure. It is the most profitable investment we make. Non-productive expenditure on soldiers that run away and ships that sail to the bottom ought to

give way to this. And if the screw should be turned too hard, perhaps, public attention will at last be directed to the enormous charitable and other endowments lying ready to our hand, and now wasted or misapplied, but which, if devoted to elementary education, would effect for us quite as much as is accomplished by the reserved lands in the American States.

#### THE NEW SHIPPING BILLS.

THE Government, by at once introducing bills for amending the laws relating to merchant shipping and to marine insurance, has promptly redeemed the promise it made during the last session; and as the shipowners in the House do not object to the main principles of these bills, while Mr. Plimsoll has expressed his conviction that the one for which Sir Charles Adderley is responsible may in committee be made "a good and useful measure," we think there is reason to hope that Parliament and the country will soon be freed from the reproach of having failed to secure adequate legislative protection to our merchant seamen. We regret that the President of the Board of Trade should have commented with some severity upon what is called "the exaggerations" of Mr. Plimsoll's agitation. No doubt exaggerated statements have been made on both sides; and although we are not prepared to dispute the right honourable gentleman's figures as to the steady decrease which he says has taken place in the loss of life at sea during the last forty years, it yet does not follow that a large proportion of the casualties which are still only too frequent must be attributed exclusively to the violence of the winds and the waves. A great public movement cannot be sustained for years by mere exaggeration; and that the existing agitation rests upon a foundation of reality is sufficiently proved by the two bills which the Government have introduced into the House of Commons.

By the law as it stands both the owner and the master of a ship which proceeds to sea in such a state as to endanger life are criminally responsible for the consequences of their neglect; but the temporary Act of 1875 went a step farther: it provided that if a vessel were lost, and the question of responsibility had to be decided, the onus of proving that reasonable care had been exercised should rest upon the owner. This provision Sir Charles proposes to make permanent, and he also asks Parliament to secure to seamen who suffer from the neglect of their employer or his agents a remedy by civil process. Some doubt has been expressed as to whether clauses suddenly introduced into a temporary Act at the fag end of a session have been sufficiently matured to justify their introduction, without addition or amendment, into a complete measure. In reply to this we would venture to remark that although the action of the Government last session was hurried, yet the principles upon which their temporary bill was based had been for more than two years subjected to an exhaustive ordeal of discussion. The people of this country have thoroughly made up their minds to give protection to the gallant fellows who go down to the sea in ships, and who, hitherto, have been almost as much the sport of human cupidity as of the caprice of the elements. Sir Charles Adderley proposes to continue the system of survey which came into operation last year, but to improve and extend the class of surveyors, and to establish a court of appeal, consisting of a judge and two assessors, one of whom would be nominated by the local marine board or shipowners' association. We apprehend that the president's proposals with regard to deck-loading will meet with unfavourable criticism from Mr. Plimsoll. While declining to prohibit deck-loading, he is nevertheless prepared to check the practice by imposing port-dues on merchandise stored on deck. From these charges, however, he seeks to exempt cattle, meat, and many other things. He proposes the retention of the load-line now in force, which, it will be remembered, is marked not by public surveyors, but by the owners of the vessels, who, however, are subject to a penalty of one hundred pounds for marking the line so as wilfully to mislead. In lieu of the existing tribunals for inquiry into shipwrecks, the unsatisfactory nature of which has often been a subject of public comment, he asks Parliament to sanction the appointment of three Wreck Commissioners, who would be selected for their practical knowledge of nautical affairs.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's bill is the complement of Sir Charles Adderley's more comprehensive measure. Sir Stafford Northcote's proposal is an answer to those shipowners who, at the meeting held a fortnight ago, assumed an air of injured innocence, and talked as if every member of

the class of which they were members ought to be held free from the suspicion of disreputable conduct. It is no imputation upon the shipowners to allege that there are black sheep among them, for a similar remark is equally applicable to every other section of the community. It has happened that shipowners have despatched worthless vessels to sea for the sake of the insurance money they expect to realise, just as directors of public companies occasionally apply to their private use the money with which they are entrusted by a too-confiding public. This is a weakness of human nature which Sir Stafford Northcote has recognised in his bill for amending the law relating to marine insurances and maritime contracts. The bill provides that in every contract for the carriage of goods or persons by sea there is implied a warranty by the shipowner or his agents that the ship was seaworthy at the commencement of the voyage. There is a practice among shippers and underwriters of agreeing as to the value of a ship, and of entering upon contracts upon this understanding. The difference between the real and estimated value of a ship is at times so startling that, according to Sir Stafford, there is enormous room for fraud; and therefore his bill provides that when actions are brought by shipowners against underwriters for the recovery of the amount of the valued policies, the court may be empowered to appoint referees to determine the actual value of the vessels. No one can doubt that if these bills are passed with such improvements as Mr. Plimsoll may be able to suggest, and especially if Mr. D. J. Jenkins' proposal that there should be a compulsory survey of all unclassed ships, is carried, shipowners will be made legally responsible—not unfairly, but in a spirit of strict justice and equity—for the due performance of their obligations to the seafaring class and to the public at large.

## SKETCHES FROM THE GALLERY.

The twin characteristic features of the Session of 1876, as far as it has unfolded itself, are a large number of notices of motion promising much work, and a prevailing air of dullness. On the opening night, as noted last week, upwards of eighty-five notices of motion were given, and these have since been supplemented by others. An incidental effect of this has been to change the mode of action of the attacking party in the campaign on the Burials Bill. On Tuesday Mr. Osborne Morgan gave notice of his intention to move for leave to introduce the customary Burials Bill. On Wednesday, in accordance with the announcement that appeared in your columns on that day, he withdrew his motion, and substituted for it one forecasting the moving of a resolution simply affirming the right of the parishioner to be buried in the churchyard with formula other than that of the Church of England. This is an accidental circumstance, and looks at first sight like a misfortune; but I believe it is one that will be found greatly to further the object Mr. Osborne Morgan has in view. Experience has shown that when he has introduced a bill on the subject, hon. members, whilst shrinking from direct opposition to the principle of the measure, have picked holes in its clauses, and have thus been able to make a decent pretence of justification for voting against it. In view of a resolution which simply declares the principle which underlies the Burials Bill, no such ingenious dodging of the main question will be possible, and members will have to vote "aye" or "no" on a question which has gradually but now finally taken a first place in the minds of the constituencies. The resolution having been carried, the bill will follow as a matter of course, and there will be no further possibility of shirking it.

Against the dullness of the first week nothing might prevail, and of course long speeches from Mr. Cross, Sir Charles Adderley, and Mr. Sclater-Booth, intensified the gloom. These Ministers came to the front with the introduction of bills which carry out a fair slice of the meagre programme set forth in the Queen's Speech. In a wordy speech Mr. Cross on Thursday introduced a bill for facilitating the regulation and improvement of Commons and for the amendment of the Enclosure Acts. Notwithstanding the great and level flow of words with which the Home Secretary clouded his description of the bill, it was not difficult to discover in it the framework, and in some points the actual features, of the bill introduced by the Liberal Government in 1871, and then violently opposed by the Conservatives. A similar discovery was made in the matter of the bill introduced on the following evening by Mr. Sclater-Booth, and designed to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the valuation of pro-

perty. This is, in such literal measure, the bill introduced by Mr. Gladstone's Government, that Mr. Sclater-Booth, taking the bill by the horns, made profuse acknowledgment of his indebtedness to his predecessors, which Mr. Goschen, following Mr. Stansfeld, graciously acknowledged, wittily observing that, "it was not often the out-going tenant of office thus received compensation for un-exhausted improvements."

As for Sir Charles Adderley's Merchant Shipping Bill, that turned out to be in a great measure Mr. Plimsoll's resolutions and suggestions of last year cut and dried and presented in formal phrase. Sir Charles Adderley's speech, however, was all his own. As he floundered along, muddling up matters till it became quite a creditable fest for Mr. Plimsoll to recognise his own progeny, it was impossible to resist the conviction that, on the whole, the right hon. baronet is a trifle worse than he was last session. The bill itself met with a reception which promises that, with average skill in management, it will speedily become law. Colonel Gourley, speaking on behalf of the shipowners, declared—what is notoriously the fact—that they are most anxious to have matters settled with the least possible delay; Mr. Plimsoll expressed himself generally satisfied with it; and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, speaking from the front Opposition bench, undertook that from that quarter the Government should receive every assistance. The introduction of this bill had been prefaced by another brought forward by Sir Stafford Northcote, and designed to amend the law relating to marine insurances. Against this Mr. Norwood raised his voice, declaring it to be an unwarrantable interference with the interests of a great trade; but the brief remarks of Mr. Watkin Williams, Mr. E. J. Reed, and Mr. Goschen speedily made it clear that the shipowners will stand alone in their opposition—the House of Commons having made up its mind to strike at the root of much of the loss of life at sea by closing the avenues to over-insurance.

The Irish members have as yet generally contented themselves with giving notice of their intention to bring in bills, and in this direction nothing has been left to desire—the aggregate of the legislation they propose to carry being of itself sufficient to occupy the time of Parliament from now to next Christmas. Every member who fights under the banner of Home-Rule has his allotted task in the general plan of obstructing the business of the Saxon Parliament. Mr. Biggar, of course, has his little bill; and, what is much more to the taste of the House of Commons, Major O'Gorman has his, having undertaken to devote his great energies and his tremendous voice to the promotion of a bill to amend the law relating to the municipal franchise in Ireland. The major, with a luck which none will grudge him, has got an early day for the second reading, and, to quote a historical expression of his own, "for ever let the heavens fall, but never let it be said" that the major, finding the second place on the orders of a Wednesday afternoon, should chance to be talked out on the preceding bill. That would be a disappointment the House of Commons would find it difficult to get over.

On Monday night the House of Commons woke up, and satisfactorily demonstrated to whom it might concern, that its old combativeness was not dead and was only lightly sleeping. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in an exceedingly able speech, moved the resolution for the vote of four million odd to cover the purchase money of the Suez Canal shares; and the House thought that Mr. Gladstone, who had been delightedly taking notes throughout the speech, would follow, and utter those thoughts on the whole transaction with which, as everyone knows, his soul has been big ever since the bargain was struck with the Khedive. But instead of the late leader of the Opposition there stepped forth the noble marquis who is its head, and he not to make a speech, but simply to urge the desirability of adjourning the debate till the House had had the opportunity of considering the new facts laid before it. Mr. Disraeli followed, and though he subsequently explained that he had not refused to listen to the request, very successfully concealed all appearance of willingness to concede it. Then came Mr. Gladstone in his best form, and encouraged by a rattling cheer from the Opposition. He very plainly declared that the minority had a right to insist on the demand which the Marquis of Hartington had preferred in their name, and protested that for himself he should decline to take part in the debate if it were forced upon the committee. The temper of the Opposition was now evidently rising, and Mr. Disraeli—who has the wit to avoid a purposeless contest, though he has not always the good sense to abstain from making it imminent—gave way, and the debate was adjourned till Monday next.

## Literature.

## LORD SHELBOURNE.\*

This volume of Lord Shelburne's Life will not be found so generally interesting as the first. It is full of important political matter which throws many side-lights upon the controversies which raged in the ten years from 1766 to 1776, but we have less of Shelburne himself in it than we should like to have seen. The political conduct of Lord Fitzmaurice's ancestor, as exhibited in this work, is so calculated to raise him in public estimation, that it would be interesting to get nearer and more frequent glimpses of the man as distinguished from the statesman, but these we are allowed to get only now and then and for the most part incidentally.

Lord Fitzmaurice begins the present volume with a statement of the nature of the offices and the extent of the duties which Lord Shelburne, as Secretary of State, had occupied. It was an office of vast range, including a good deal of what is now committed to no fewer than three Secretaries. By-and-bye it came to be more limited, but the limitation was effected in not the most courteous manner. In great political affairs Shelburne acted with Chatham, and it is clear that what was distasteful to the one was equally distasteful to the other. The sullen and arrogant caprice of Chatham—to give it no stronger term—must, however, have been very hard to put up with, and it somewhat surprises us to find that Shelburne never seems to have resented it. It would have been the easiest thing to have done if he had chosen to do it. Such a temper is best dealt with by open rebuke. Shelburne, as we constantly find in reading these pages, had a singularly acute and natural sagacity which had been trained by large experience, and we wonder that he did not exercise it in a different way in dealing with Chatham.

Firmness as regards the State, even when it went against his own interests, was one of Shelburne's highest qualities. In the affairs with Spain, India, and America, which he had at this time to conduct, he showed this quality to admiration. He had also, and always, clear ideas as to what should be done, and nothing could shake his reasons. The policy which he drew out for the East India Company shows how well he could grasp broad principles as well as minute details. It is not such a policy as would have been employed years afterwards, but it showed something at least of the grasp of statesmanship. In regard to the American colonies Lord Shelburne was always right, and one wonders on reading his letters what might not have happened if his policy had been carried out. As quoted by Bancroft, he wrote to the Agent of Massachusetts to "assure the Assembly of Massachusetts that they might be perfectly easy about the enjoyment of their rights and privileges under the present administration." His letter to Bernard, of October, 1766, is a model letter for a statesman—conciliatory, and, as it happened, as effective as it was conciliatory. His language to Franklin concerning some temporary difficulties was in the same tone. But Shelburne, with Chatham sitting in angry or affected pride at home, certainly could not control the Cabinet. He had a vigorous and not very scrupulous opponent in Townshend, and Townshend's views were the more popular with the governing powers. At the same time Shelburne considered that the Americans were going too far; in fact, he considered them to be infatuated. This is what he says in a letter to Lord Chatham of February, 1767:—

The infatuated conduct of the Assembly in refusing even present obedience to the Act, precludes I am afraid all consideration of the merits or principles of it, by involving a far greater question. I have, however, examined with all the attention possible the Mutiny Act here, and find it amazingly tender both in regard to Scotland and Ireland. That part of it only which regards the discipline extends to Ireland. It is very extraordinary that by the best information I have been able to procure, the troops are quartered there under no direct law whatever here or there, but either on account of old prerogative or custom, or the necessity of the thing being understood, it is generally submitted to.

As things stand in America, so many considerations cross upon each other, that all the difficulties of the situation are scarce within compass to be stated. One great difficulty, however, is, that whatever the conduct of New York or even of America may be, arising from the diffidence and excess of apprehension your lordship mentions, it were to be wished not to establish a precedent in whatever is done, which may hereafter be turned to purposes of oppression and to promote measures opposite to those general public principles upon which the Stamp Act was repealed. Another is that if these infatuated people should be tempted to resist in the last instance, which there is the greatest reason to

\* *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, afterwards Marquess of Lansdowne, &c.* By Lord EDMUND FITZMAURICE. Vol. 2 (Macmillan.)

apprehend from the governor's letter and their address, I think it too plain from the accounts we daily receive that France and Spain would no longer defer breaking a peace, the days of which they already begin to count, though I profess and very sincerely feel the want of that experience and sagacity necessary to form any judgment of the intentions of foreign Powers.

Political opposition to Townshend came, of course, to an end with his death. Lord Fitzmaurice throws a strong light upon the state of Ireland at this period and Shelburne's conduct of Irish affairs; where we do not think his best qualities were exhibited here. One of the next matters to be dealt with was the Corsican. France wanted the island, and, believing that England would not go to war, was determined to have it, and, as we know, took it. There is a letter from Stewart, the Government agent, to Shelburne, in this volume which is of remarkable interest. It is clear that we could have prevented the Corsicans being conquered if we had chosen. One of the most interesting passages of this letter refers to Paoli, afterwards so well known to Johnson and Boswell. Here is his character as drawn by the political agent:

In the conversations which I held with Paoli, I found him clear and intelligent, seeming to understand perfectly the interests of the different nations of Europe, and even well informed of what passes at their courts. He is no stranger to the nature of our constitution, and even of the different factions which prevail among us. He knows the names of our present Ministers and the different ranks in which they stand; he mentioned particularly my Lord Shelburne, in whose department (he said) the Corsican affairs lay. He appears thoroughly well acquainted with both ancient and modern history, speaks his own language with remarkable eloquence, and the foreign languages rather imperfectly, although he understands them all. He translates English currently from the book. As to his management with the Corsicans, he seems to have them in a tolerable degree of subjection, merely by that ascendancy which a man of parts and knowledge is sure to acquire over weak and uncultivated minds, and I find that like Numa and Mahomet he does not scruple to employ even visions, revelations, and dreams to strengthen his power. Religion seems to sit easy upon him, and notwithstanding what his historian Boswell relates, I take him to be very free in his notions that way. This I suspect both from the strain of his conversation, and from what I have learnt of his conduct towards the clergy and monks. If after all, I may venture to pronounce wherein I think him deficient, I should say it is in personal courage. The manner in which he answered when I endeavoured to spur him on to some spirited action, gave me first this idea, and then his complaints of sickness and feverishness as an excuse for his inactivity, seem unsoldierlike and equivocal at best. I ventured to hint this suspicion to a gentleman at Florence, a man of penetration and sense, who knows Paoli well and admires him much; he owned, he always had the same suspicion, and says he never understood that Paoli ever exposed his person in any action with the Genoese. To make up for this defect, he has an elder brother whom he puts forward on all occasions, a true lion, and who joins to constitutional bravery a religious fanaticism, which often leads to great and noble deeds. A priest told me "Signor Clemente de Paoli was always with his hands lifted up before the altar, or with a sword in them in the field fighting the enemies of his country."

Shelburne resigned his Secretaryship in 1789, and here Lord Fitzmaurice takes occasion to give some impression of him formed by contemporaries. One was that he was a Jesuit, for there was something which looked like insincerity in his conduct. The author deals frankly with this:

The circumstances of Shelburne's career had not rendered the imputations of insincerity embodied in the appellation unnatural in the eyes of those who were not behind the scenes of the political world. The country was constantly being reminded that "the Earl of Shelburne had initiated himself in business by carrying messages between the Earl of Bute and Mr. Fox, and was for some time a favourite with both," and then the changes were rung on the eternal story of the "pious fraud." The ambiguous position he had for some time past occupied in a Ministry, from the chief measures of which he was known to differ, could be justified by facts known only to a few persons; while the politicians best acquainted with the wheels within wheels of the recent negotiations, were also those most interested in making the character and conduct of Shelburne appear in an unfavourable light. His sudden rise to very high office when a young man increased the number of his enemies. Those who were ready to declare "that before he was an ensign he thought himself fit to be a general, and to be a leading Minister before he ever saw a public office," were not unwilling to add that "his life was a satire on mankind" and, while telling the public in the solemn tones of virtuous indignation, "that the treachery which deserts a friend might be a virtue compared to the fawning baseness which attaches itself to a declared enemy," they pointed the moral with the story, how Chatham—who was congratulated that "Shelburne had not acted to him with greater insincerity than to his former connections"—having become the "idol" of Shelburne "introduced him into the most difficult department of State, and left him there to shift for himself."

Walpole attacks Shelburne with his most vicious cynicism, but Jeremy Bentham believed in, and wrote well of, him. Read this—

"The master of Bowood," he says, "to judge from everything I have seen yet, is one of the pleasantest men to live with that ever God put breath into: his whole study seems to be to make everybody about him happy—servants not excepted; and in their countenances one may read the effects of his endeavours. In his presence they are as cheerful as they are respectful and attentive; and when they are alone, you may see them merry, but, at all times as quiet as so many mice.

To such a poor devil as I, they are as respectful and attentive as if I were a lord. The only instances of fire I have seen him exhibit have been when he has been declaiming about politics; yet though I frequently oppose him, and scarce ever join with him, he takes it all in the best part imaginable. It would please you to see how attentive he is upon all occasions to keep out of sight every idea of protection—everything that could give me to understand that he looked upon it as a favour done me to introduce me to great people. . . . There was a prodigious deal of ambiguity in the general tenor of his language on party subjects; whether genuine or affected I cannot be certain. I rather believe it genuine, because I find it the same on subjects in which party has nothing to do."

It is well known how Shelburne sided with the party of religious liberty. His friendship with Priestley and Price was of the most active character. He engaged Priestley to be his librarian, and always respected him. He asked Chatham to come from his retirement to support the Tests Abolition Bill. Lord Fitzmaurice deals with this:

"I had accidentally some conversation with Lord Gower at the Opera, who made no secret of the intentions of Government, in the House of Lords, to oppose the bill, and support the bishops. I observed he also spoke without much scruple of Lord North, on a separate line from Government. It is given out, that the King has declared himself much against the bill. Lord Mansfield persists in concealing his own opinion, till he comes to the House."

The information thus conveyed by Shelburne to Chatham proved correct. When the second reading of the bill was taken, every bishop and archbishop was in his place to reject it. Amongst those who proved how thoroughly the episcopal order had repented of whatever share they might be considered to have had in the liberal work of the Revolution, was Bishop Lowth of Oxford. "He took up the question," says Walpole, "in a spirit of revenge," and declared he would vote against the bill because the Dissenters would not receive bishops in America. Shelburne rose, and in reply informed the House "that he was Secretary of State when Archbishop Secker had struggled for an American bishop, and that both Archbishop Secker and Archbishop Drummond had had an interview with him, and that at that interview it was he who had urged how unwelcome a bishop would be to the Dissenters, and they who had both assured him that the Dissenters did not object to it: Archbishop Drummond was still alive and in the House, and could deny the fact if it was otherwise." This Drummond could not do. It would seem as if the bishops had determined to justify the charges against them of "want of candour, and of scandalous love of power," with which Richmond opened and Chatham closed the discussion. The bill was rejected by 102 to 29, and a like fate awaited the measure in the following year.

The tale of the Boston tea ships, which closes this volume, is not new, but it will be read with some fresh light in these pages. Lord Shelburne's judgment on "Men and Things" will also be read with curious interest, but, on the whole, we are disappointed that these pages do not carry us on farther into the history of the period.

#### MURPHY ON THE PSALMS.

The religious songs and lyrics of the Hebrew people have nothing to compare with them in the literature of any other ancient nation—or, in fact, of any modern, for such modern religious lyrics as may be compared with them are founded on, or draw their inspiration from, the Hebrew. We turn naturally for comparison to the remains of the early Aryan races, which Dr. John Muir and Mr. Max Müller have brought within our reach in their translations from the Sanskrit, but we find ourselves at once in a different atmosphere altogether. With much that is beautiful, and with a pervading sense of the unseen, there is a sentimental haze hanging over the entire landscape of thought, so that we can see nothing clearly. "The doctrine of one great First Cause was not, indeed," as Archdeacon Hardwick says, "absolutely banished from the heart of the bards and rishis" of what may be called the Vedic period. But the idea of God as One, Supreme and Spiritual, did not form a prominent article in their creed. "It retired far off into the background. It seldom operated as a principle of life. It was the feeble and expiring echo of an older and a purer revelation; and even where it showed its power at all, where Indra for the moment was absorbed completely by some brighter and more spiritual being, the God of whom such visions preached was not a thinking, willing, loving spirit, personal and self-conscious, ruling over Nature as His work, and as the Father of the spirits of all flesh, but rather a great That, a neuter abstract, separable from the world of matter in idea, but not in essence; spiritualised, indeed, but spiritualised, ennobled, deified by the poetic faculty of the worshipper. He was a Nature-God, and not the God of Nature."

How entirely different from this is the spirit of the ancient songs of the Hebrew people. God stands out in the Psalms clearly and un-

\* *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms. With a New Translation. By JAMES G. MURPHY, LL.D., T.C.D., Professor of Hebrew, Belfast. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.)*

mistakenly as the Creator, Ruler, Judge, Redeemer, and Friend of Man. Whenever a Psalmist speaks of anything, he speaks of it as originating from Him, dependent on Him, and subsisting for Him. And, as Dr. Murphy says, "what gives any importance or significance to man and the sphere of earthly things, of which he is, without his own option, the centre and end, is simply his essential relation and accountability to the One Great Eternal Spirit." Man himself appears in the Psalms as the subject of God. The Psalmist "signalises the righteous man as the constituent unit of the peculiar people, the holy nation, the Church of God. He sets his brand upon oppression and wrong, and pleads the cause of the widow and fatherless. He touches not infrequently on the wicked, whether an individual whom he has occasion to single out for special denunciation, or the nations that have forgotten God, or those who are of Israel and yet are not Israel, but double traitors to the God who redeemed them." At the same time, as Dr. Murphy does not fail to point out:

Being a true poet he is not so narrowed by time or place as to stand aloof from the common feelings of humanity. Un fettered by the modes of fashion, the forms of civilisation, or the phrases of science, he speaks the mother tongue of the human heart. He rises above and reaches beyond the manners and customs of his nation to the thoughts and feelings incidental to minds of every age and land. "One touch of Nature makes the whole world kin." The psalmist is full of these touches of Nature that find an echo in every breast. This is an unfailing charm that wins the attention of the most thoughtless as well as the most thoughtful reader.

If we could imagine the Hebrew Psalms to have come down to us through the ages, like the hymns of the Rig-veda, as the only extant remains of a people, concerning whom we could know nothing but what might be gathered from the psalms themselves, what would be our impression of the people to whom they belonged? Mr. Isaac Taylor, in his admirable work, "The Spirit of the Hebrew Poetry," makes this supposition and asks this question. Let the reader, as he suggests, strip himself of his modern self, and read, for example, the 65th Psalm, and let him open his heart and mind to admit the largeness of its intention, the width of its look-out upon the world, the justness of its Theism, the warmth of its piety, and the gladness of its temper, and withal the pre-purification which is made in its exordium for the outpourings of a grateful piety, by the open confession of sin, and the deep consciousness of it as the reason of the Divine displeasure. "This ode supposes—it connotes—an instituted congregational worship—a temple, a liturgy, and a teaching." Take another Psalm, the 90th, which, Mr. Taylor says, might be cited as perhaps the most sublime of human composition—the deepest in feeling—the loftiest in theologic conception—the most magnificent in its imagery. "True is it in its report of human life—as troubled, transitory, and sinful. True in its conception of the Eternal—the Sovereign and the Judge; and yet the refuge and hope of men, who, notwithstanding the most severe trials of their faith, lose not their confidence in Him; but who, in the firmness of faith—pray for, as if they were predicting, a near-at-hand season of refreshment." If such a perusal of one or two odes brings into view, with the vividness of vision, this (supposed to be) lost Theistic nation, we are asked to peruse and ponder other odes, for "these in their different modes, will give evidence touching each leading principle of what we admit to be a true theology, and a true belief concerning the creative power, and a true belief in Providence, and the righteous government, and gracious administration of the Providence towards mankind, who are dealt with in their weakness and their sins."

What, then, on the study of these poetic remains of, as we are supposing, an ancient and otherwise unknown people—what conclusions do we reach? They may be put thus, in the words of Mr. Taylor, "Vivid as these poems are, and full of force, and of feeling, and abounding as they do in allusion to the things of the time, it is not credible that they are mere inventions, which had no archetypes in the minds and usages of a people. This may not be thought. It is certain then that there has once been a people among the nations—there has been one among the millions of the worshippers of stocks—there has been one people taught of God."

The book which brings us to this conclusion is worthy of all the learning that is put forth to expound its inestimable teachings. It is a book for the humblest saints, who find in it an unfailing manual of devotion, and for the greatest scholars and most profound thinkers, who find in it aids to the understanding of the ways of God. We welcome every genuine endeavour to throw light on our "Book of

Psalms," and to show the bearing of its lessons on that life which is neither modern nor ancient, because it is both. Dr. Murphy has already given good proof of his competency for the task which he has undertaken, by his Commentaries on Genesis and Exodus. The method which he pursues in this volume is a mean between two classes of works, one of which says everything that can be said or that has been said already, and the other of which is of the skeleton order.

It includes a revision of the Authorised Version, which serves both to abbreviate the commentary and to exhibit the connection of the text. This is arranged in lines, and so printed as to indicate to the eye the divisions of thought. The comment aims chiefly at bringing out the meaning and elucidating the principle of the Psalm. The version and comment are preceded by a brief reference to the occasion, subject, and arrangement of the Psalm, and followed by some critical notes which, being placed by themselves, the reader may omit if it please him. The whole is preceded by an introduction upon such points as seem most essential to the full understanding of the book.

The plan thus indicated is well wrought out in the 700 pages of the goodly volume before us. The standpoint of the author is what might be expected of an orthodox Presbyterian. But when that standpoint is materially departed from, there are many things in the Psalms which become utterly unintelligible. We say "materially departed from," for we are not prepared to accept all our author's Messianic interpretations. And, turning to a matter of smaller moment, we think he claims too many of the Psalms for David, or at least that the evidence is not conclusive. His discussion of the difficult question of what are called the Imprecatory Psalms, though brief, is very valuable and suggestive. In connection with this matter there are facts and Scriptures which are too often forgotten:—

"The Psalmist," says Dr. Murphy, "with all the saints of the Old Testament, blessed them that cursed him, did good to them that hated him, and prayed for them that despicably used and persecuted him. There is no nobler example of intercession than that of Moses: 'Oh, these people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold; yet now, if Thou wilt forgive their sin, and if not, blot me, I pray Thee, out of Thy book which Thou hast written.' Saul, as long as he lived, followed David with the most ruthless persecution. David, though certainly not a man of blameless life, yet as certainly blessed when Saul cursed; and notwithstanding the persuasions of those around him, never ceased to do him good. The Psalmist makes use of these expressions: 'For my love they were my adversaries, but I give myself unto prayer. And they have rewarded me evil for good, and hatred for my love.' 'O Lord my God, if I have done this, if there be iniquity in my hands, if I have rewarded evil unto him that was at peace with me, and have not delivered my foe, let the enemy pursue my soul and take it; yea, let him tread down my life upon the earth, and lay my honour in the dust.' 'My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace; I am for peace, but when I speak they are for war.' These sentiments breathe the spirit of the common charity which runs through the Old Testament as well as the New."

This work is well worthy of a place in the Bible student's library. And by Bible students we don't mean professional students alone, but all who, valuing the Word of God, are not content with a surface reading of it, but take pains to understand its sacred truths and lessons. Dr. Murphy's pages are in a form which makes it easy to consult them, while he has the happy art of condensing his explications into terse and brief sentences.

#### MISS GREENWELL'S NEW POEMS.\*

We always read Miss Greenwell's poems with pleasure. She never fails to stir thought, and is now and then very happy in separate images and phrases. But she is over apt to choose topics which in poetic treatment demand a wider scale than she is either able or willing to allow them; and the result is that not seldom we are puzzled, and would crave a more liberal allowance of notes than even she favours us with. Now, in merely descriptive poetry, or poetry which aims at no more than reproduction, this may only be mechanically distracting; but poetry of the higher order should not need to cumber itself with lengthened digressions—the perusal of which is essential to the comprehension of the leading ideas. Miss Greenwell bases her initial conceptions on such things; and we should need to read whole tomes in order to prepare ourselves to follow her with perfect sympathy. In fact, we should need to make our reading as wide and peculiar as hers is; and this raises a question of culture, or possibility of culture, and, in being so raised, a large section of her poetical volumes is at once declared to be limited to the suffrages of a small audience. The bulk of her poems can never be popular. Perhaps she does not desire popularity, but only the "audience fit, though few." It is, we fear, the audience fit, though few, that she must be content with. She is too

much concerned with thought in itself, and when she does look at objects imaginatively she is too disposed to reverse them for the sake of a ready-prepared and thus half-arbitrary symbol. In this way, though very far removed from them in many respects in spirit, she relates herself by method of working to the Rossettis, who bring with them, even to the treatment of the thought of the day, both style and imagery formed on an appropriation of mediæval modes.

The present little volume is full of beauties, but they need to be patiently looked for and sometimes isolated from their surroundings. The natural relation is soon lost, reversed, and what promises to be a pretty song of ordinary human affection, passes into mystical and select spiritual affinities. As an illustration take this, "The Homeward Lane":—

My soul within me yearned  
For home; not yet appeared  
The father's house in sight:  
I saw no kindled light  
In gleaming window-pane  
No forms arrayed in white  
Came forth, yet was I cheered  
At heart: I knew I neared  
My home, and kept aright  
The way.

My footsteps turned  
Adown a well-known lane,  
Lone, quiet; on each side  
A grassy margin wide,  
And hedgerows freshened to the deepened stain  
Left by warm summer rain.  
O'er all a sparkle wet;  
An odour dank and cool  
From Balsam poplars set  
Within the hedge, and yet  
A sunset dash from many a tiny pool

Then saw I on a gate  
Two men in garments plain  
That leaned, as in the summer evenings late  
Men lean; of common things  
And themes, to dwellers in the country dear,  
If husbandman or king,  
They spoke, nor ceased their talk as I drew near;  
But with a quiet smile  
One open held the gate  
The other spake, "For thee, I said, long while  
Here would I stand and wait."  
But when I would have turned within, I saw  
A sandy heath forlorn  
That stretched, wherein an aged woman, bent  
With care and toil outworn,  
Stooped down to pluck a small white rose, that  
grew  
As if it lived but with its leaves to strew  
The thin light soil, nor seemed, sun-fed, the dew  
To need, beset with many a grieving thorn;  
But when she, turning, lifted up her head  
I looked upon the face  
Of one long loved by me and with the dead  
Long numbered, there no trace  
Of age or pain I read,  
But in her deep-set eyes  
Dwelt untold ecstasy,  
And in her smile was bliss,  
And rapture in her kiss  
And heaven in her embrace.

A still more remarkable instance is the "Playmates," which would be simply parabolic and misty but for the motto from John Woolman. "Between Two Worlds" is certainly powerful, and shows great faculty in finding words to fitly express recondite thought; and "Poet and Painter"—one of the most ambitious poems—has a line or two almost worthy of Browning, and certainly a sustained melody, such as he does not attain, if nowadays he even aims at it. "The Broken Cither" and "The Little Companions"—written in rhythmic prose—are, of course, experiments, and we hardly regard them as wholly successful, though the general effect is very striking in the harmonious gradation of thought and language. Best of all we like "The Wren" and "Daria"; and had space permitted we should have gratified ourselves by making another quotation of the latter. We might, we think, justify ourselves in finding fault with Miss Greenwell on one or two points of form:—

Store hath she of gifts meet,  
which forms the first line of the Squire's song in the "Golden Thread" is certainly not euphonious—is mere prose indeed—though the little device that would have made it musical is used in a companion line. In "Demeter and Cora" which has some exquisite couplets, Miss Greenwell writes:—

I was thy daughter, Cora, vowed  
To gladness in thy world above,  
I love i the daffodil, I love  
All lovely, free and gentle things  
Beloved by thee! a sound of wings  
Is with me in captivity  
Of birds and bees, with her that sings  
The shrill Cicula, ever gay  
In noon's white heat.

This, we confess, we cannot understand. Is the pointing right, or is the spelling wrong, or should Cicula be Cicala, which we could understand, though we prefer the classic form, Cicada? With all deductions we find here, along with much that is vague and mystical, some true poetry, so fine in conception and delicate in phrase, that we are surprised Miss

Greenwell has never managed to strike a more popular note.

#### MORE ABOUT THE CONGO AND GORILLA LAND.\*

Our knowledge of the Congo increases day by day. Quite recently we reviewed Mr. Monteiro's volumes, which did so much to inform us about one region: now we have Captain Burton, the specially-interesting point of whose book is the description of the Fans or Cannibals of the Congo Country. Before reaching what may be called the more exciting and sensational portion of the book, however, we are detained for a little time to learn something about the geography of the Gaboon, which is very exact and clear; and then we are introduced to some of the minor tribes of the country, among which the Mpongwe is the most prominent:—

"The Mpongwe," Captain Burton says, "whom the French call 'les Gabons,' are the aristocracy of the coast, the Benga being the second, and the Banks and Bapuka ranking third. They are variously estimated at 5,000 to 7,000 head, Serviles included. They inhabit both sides of the Gaboon, extending about thirty-five miles along its banks, chiefly on the right; on the left only seawards of the Shekany. But it is a wandering race, and many a 'mercator vagris' finds his way to Corisco, Cape Lopez, Batanga, and even Fernando Po. The two great families on the northern river bank are the Quabena and the Geesa, who style themselves kings and princes; the southern side lodges King William (Roi Denis) near the mouth, and the powerful King George higher up the stream. There are also settlements scattered at various distances from the great highway of commerce, to which they naturally cling, and upon the Conquet and Parrot Islands."

The Mpongwe are crafty, and apt at bargains. They are devoted to trade, and have become a people of brokers, of go-betweens, of middlemen. They have now acquired an ease and propriety, a polish and urbanity of manner which contrasts strongly with the Krumen and other tribes, who, despite generations of intercourse with Europeans, are rough and barbarous as their forefathers. Like all the African aristocracy, they hold agriculture beneath the dignity of man, and fit only for their women and slaves; the ladies also refuse to work at the plantations, especially when young and pretty, leaving them to the bush-folk, male and female. They are polygamous, but the family arrangements are such that the members seldom disagree among themselves, and Captain Burton assures us that the women are by no means down-trodden—on the contrary, their position is comparatively high. A great surprise to the missionaries was that they found this race practising a rite very nearly resembling baptism, and many theories have been started to account for its introduction. With their fetishism there is mixed a kind of spiritualism not so very unlike the mediumship now in vogue in our own country, which tempts Captain Burton to write a very sarcastic paragraph.

But, of course, the reader is not contented till he has reached the account of the Fans, which suitably enough edges him on to Gorilla Land. The Fans, however, are hardly so disagreeable or repulsive as might have been expected. Their toilette, it is true, is very odd, consisting of strings and plaits of goat, wild cat, or leopard skin girding the waist, with a fan of palm frond, redolent of grease, and ruddled with ochre, thrust through the waist-beat; while new and stiff the upper half stands bolt upright and depends only when old. The forspart of the body is decked with a similar fan; the outspread portion worn the wrong way like that behind. But, as in most such cases—the human sacrifices of the Gonds of India for instance—we find traces of an idea underlying the cannibalism and relieving somewhat its horrors. Captain Burton writes:—

As will appear from the Fan's bill of fare, anthropophagy can hardly be caused by necessity, and the way in which it is conducted shows that it is a quasi-religious rite practised upon foes slain in battle, evidently an equivalent of human sacrifice. If the whole body cannot be carried off, a limb or two is removed for the purpose of a roast. The corpse is carried to a hut built expressly on the outskirts of the settlement; it is eaten secretly by the warriors, woman and children not being allowed to be present or even to look upon man's flesh; and the cooking-pots used for the banquet must all be broken. A joint of "black brother" is never seen in the villages; "smoked human flesh" does not hang from the rafters, and the leather knife-sheaths are of wild cow; yet Dr. Schweinfurth's valuable travels on the western Nile prove that public anthropophagy can coexist with a considerable amount of comfort, and so to speak civilization—witness the Nyan-Nyan and Numbatoo (Numbatoo). The sick and dead are unclean by the Fans, and the people shouted with laughter when I asked a certain question.

\* Two Trips to Gorilla Land and the Catarracts of the Congo. By RICHARD F. BURTON. In two Volumes. (Sampson Low, Son, and Co.)

The West Coast of Africa, as seen from the Deck of a Man of War. By the late Commander HUGH McN. DYER, R.N., H.M.S. Torch. (J. Griffin and Co.)

\* Camera Obscura. By DORA GREENWELL. (Dally, Lister and Co.)

After some experience of the Fans, Captain Burton declares—

Those who have dealings with the Fan, universally prefer them in point of honesty and manliness to the Mpongwe and coast races; they have not had time to become thoroughly corrupt, to lose all the lesser without gaining anything of the greater virtues. They boast, like John Ted, that they ne'er feared the French, and have scant respect for (white) persons; indeed, their independence sometimes takes the form of insolence. . . . Chastity is still known among the Fans. The marriage tie has some significance, the women will not go astray, save with the husband's leave, which is not often granted. The men wax wroth if their mothers be abused. It is an insult to call one of them a liar or a coward; the coast tribes would merely smile at the soft impeachment, and assure you that none but fools are anything else. Their bravery is the bravery of the savage, whose first object is to preserve his only good, his life: to the civilised man, therefore, they appear but moderately courageous. They are fond of intoxication, but are not yet broken to ardent spirits.

The description of the gorilla and of gorilla hunting is very interesting, but we find it would occupy too much space to endeavour to present our readers with an adequate account of it. But if they are led thus to the book, we shall have done them a favour and only deferred a pleasure. They will find it full of powerful description and striking adventure. We cannot part with the work, however, without giving this short extract from the preface—bearing on an important point—in which we must add that Commander Dyer, in his interesting but rather slight description of "Africa, as seen from the Deck of a Man-of-War," is wholly at one with him. Captain Burton writes:—

The chronic discontent of the so-called "civilised" Africans, the contempt of the rulers if not of the ruled, and the bitter hatred between the three races—white, black, and black-white—fomented by many an unprincipled print, which fills its pocket with coin of cant and Christian charity, will end in greater scandals than the last disreputable war. If the *damnae latae* be not suppressed—and where are the strong hands to suppress it?—we may expect to see the scenes of Jamaica revived with improvements at Sierra Leone. However unwilling I am to cut off any part of our great and extended Empire, to renew anywhere, even in Africa, the process of dismemberment—the policy which cast off Corfu—it is evident to me that *English occupation of the West African Coast has but slightly forwarded the cause of humanity, and that upon the whole it has proved a remarkable failure*. We can be wise in time.

#### BRIEF NOTICES.

*Picturesque Europe. Part I. The British Isles.* (London: Cassell, Petter and Co.) In a prefatory notice we are told that "the purpose of the present work, which has been for several years in preparation, is to present a complete description and elaborate pictorial illustration of the greater part of the European Continent, by bringing together, in a form never before attempted, representations of the numberless objects of nature and of art which make Europe so strikingly picturesque"—such as its mountains, rivers, lakes, cathedrals, castles, ruins, &c. Each monthly part (half-a-crown) will contain a steel plate and wood engravings, which, it is said, "will be absolutely new and original drawings, executed from recent sketches taken on the spot by eminent artists, who have visited the various parts of Europe for the purpose." This is a great undertaking worthy of the large resources of Messrs. Cassell's establishment. If it should fulfil the expectations held out in the prospectus, and we may add the promise of the first part, we may safely predict for the work a brilliant success. The part now before us is well printed on fine toned paper, and is devoted appropriately to Windsor, the history and archaeology of which are the themes of the letterpress, and illustrated by some fifteen exquisite wood-engravings—several of them whole page—from the designs of Whymper and other first-rate artists. Specially effective as picturesque works of art, and examples of perfection of modern woodcuts, are "The Round Tower," "The Thames Valley," from that elevation; the lovely view from "The Slopes"; and "William the Conqueror's Oak." This part opens with a fine steel-engraving of Birket Foster's superb picture of "Windsor Castle." Excellence, taste, and cheapness combine to make this first part of "Picturesque Europe" highly attractive, and to commend it to general favour.

*The Remains of the Rev. Richard Cecil, M.A., with numerous Selections from His Works.* A new edition, with an Introduction by his Daughter, and a Preface by the Right Rev. Robert Bickersteth, D.D., Lord Bishop of Ripon. (Elliot Stock.) There is a savour of goodness about the name of Cecil. It is possible that there may be disagreement at once with his doctrines, and his way of viewing more secular questions, but there can be little doubt of his sincerity, of his self-denial of his entire devotion. But what has come upon us as with a fresh sense of surprise in

re-reading the best of his utterances in this admirable selection issued by Mr. Elliot Stock is the penetrating and practical manner in which he views matters, which one would be apt to suppose he regarded as a recluse, and took no very deep interest in. The very first extract is this—embodimenting almost a Carlylean precept:—

I have often had occasion to observe that a warm blundering man does more for the world than a frigid wise man. A man who gets into a habit of inquiring about proprieties, and expediencies, and occasions, often spends his life without doing anything to the purpose. The state of the world is such, and so much depends on action, that everything seems to say loudly to every man—"Do something; do it, do it!"

The apt manner, too, in which the most practical remarks on conduct are united with the most impressive religious feeling, is worth signalising. As thus, p. 19:—

Business is honourable. Moses was at his employment when the vision was manifested to him in the bush. David was in his employment when called to a kingdom. Elisha was at the plough when called to be a prophet. God puts honour on that employment which is lawful and innocent."

Again, surely this is apt enough to justify its quotation:—

Every book really worth a minister's studying should be in his own library. I have used large libraries, but I soon left them. Time was frittered away: my mind unconcentrated. Besides, the habit which it begets of turning over a multitude of books is a pernicious habit; and the usual contents of such libraries are injurious to a spiritual man whose business it is to transact with men's minds. They have a dry, cold, deadening effect. It may suit dead men to walk among the dead; but send not living men to be chilled among the ruins of Tadmor in the Wilderness!

Which, though no doubt it hardly appeared in that light to Mr. Cecil's mind, may be a reason why the great work of the Church of England, say, is done by poor curates—and in so many cases done well—who do not have the temptations of large miscellaneous libraries. But we do wonder much if Mr. Cecil would have held the following as applicable to that Church now, as it was then. He writes:—

The Church of England is not fitted in its present state for a General Church. Its *secularitatem* must be purged away. We shall hasten that day when Christians shall be of one heart and one mind, if we inculcate the spirit of charity in our respective circles. I have aimed much at this point, and shall push it further. The rest must be left to Providence. He only can by unknown means heal the schisms of the Church, and unite it together as one external body; and that this will be done, as some think, by persecution, appears highly probable. I see no other means adequate to the end. But in these extracts the fine devout spirit of the writer always shines through, making us cease to wonder at the immense influence he wielded, in spite of ill-health. Mr. Elliot Stock has done well to republish the selections, for Mr. Cecil has a wise word for every time, and may well be taken as the teacher of a wisdom which many at present would do well to learn.

*The Tragedy of Israel.* By GEORGE FRANCIS ARMSTRONG, M.A., Professor of History and English Literature in the Queen's College, Cork, Queen's University in Ireland. Part III.—King Solomon. (Longmans.) Professor Armstrong has undertaken a gigantic price of work—the various episodes of which are themselves tragedies. So he has felt himself compelled to treat them. There is much of vigour and imaginative sweep in many passages, especially those which are more or less of declamatory character; and now and then we have very masterly and subtle effects in the blank verse he has chosen. The subject, however, is too great, and treated too much in related episodes for the mass of readers to follow him or even to be interested in his work considered in the aspect in which it is most worthy of notice. But we have no doubt that it will succeed in the line in which Professor Armstrong is most ambitious of success—win him the admiration of many students of our poetic literature. We can only afford space to give the following speech of Hiram to the King of Tyre; describing the labours for the great temple which Solomon builded:—

How far aloft in Lebanon, they hewed  
The cedars broad, the heaven-scaling pines,  
O King, thou knowest; and down the wild sea-shore  
To Joppa in the north wind steered; and how  
They heaved the stony roots of Judah's hills;  
And how the ships to Eson, from the south  
The yellow veins of Ophir and the white,  
Smooth ivory bare. With these we wrought, with  
these  
And cypress, almonds from the southern shores,  
And olive of the vale. I, even I,  
Stood upon Lebanon, and saw the slaves  
In thousands labouring in the mountain air.  
Some the wind-broken, rugged fir-tree cleft,  
High on its way, from snaky fibres old,  
And buried it to the valley; some in gangs  
Girdling the stubborn cedar, stopt and smote  
The hole with splintering axe, till all its plumes  
Dark-shadowing, trembled, and the leafy bulk  
Fall, crackling branch on branch. Oh, beautiful  
The green boughs curving like a hand outstretched,

Bent from the wrist! Sweet to the eye the lines,  
And sweet to smell the olivaceous bark,  
And mine eye followed the fair twisted stems,  
Fashioning forms in fancy; and I drew  
The odorous, dewy sprays across my lips,  
And loved them as my children. Also I  
Mid Judah's mountains watched the scented blocks  
Cleft out, and smoothed, and measured each with  
each.

To be the walls and pillars of that Pile;  
And then unto the city thus we drew.  
There on the hill Moriah did we build;  
Silent we wrought; no sound of hammer or axe,  
Clashed on the riven sinews of the hills,  
Or gliding saw croaked in the mountain fir,  
Within that boundary, but the vision closed  
Together like the silent clouds of heaven.

#### Gleanings.

According to a Parliamentary paper, the commission to be paid to Messrs. Rothschild for their "trouble and risk" in arranging the purchase of the Suez Canal shares amounts to £99,414.

A Missouri newspaper says that the hogs of that State are so fat that in order to find out where their heads are it is necessary to make them squeak, and then judge by the sound.

A man who was up in a police-court recently gave his occupation as that of a "conchologist," and explained by saying he opened oysters at market.

The editor of a country paper, in speaking of a newly-invented "metallic coffin," says they are fast coming into fashion, and are highly recommended by those who have used them.

"What is a conscience?" asked a schoolmaster of his class. "An inward monitor," replied a bright little fellow. "And what's a monitor?" "One of the ironclads."

The *Christian Index* (U.S.) thus prefaces an obituary: "We regret to record the death of one who was an old father in the church, a careful reader of the *Index*, and who paid for three papers in advance."

A Virginian accidentally stumbled and fell. A lady thinking to commiserate with the mishap, observed that she regretted his unlucky *faux-pas*. "I didn't hurt my forepaws," he replied; "it was my knee."

"Have you taken any remedy?" asked a physician of a sick person whom he had been called to visit. "No" said the patient, I haven't taken any remedy; but I've taken lots of doctor's stuff."

Cowden Clarke tells a story of a gentleman who lately, in making a return of his income to the tax commissioners, wrote on the paper: "For the last three years my income has been somewhat under 1500; in the future it will be more precarious, as the man is dead of whom I borrowed the money."

A clergyman and one of his elderly parishioners were walking on the ice one day, when the old man slipped and fell. "Ah!" shouted the clergyman, "the wicked shall stand on slippery places." The old gentleman looked at the parson a moment and said, "I see they do; but I can't."

The judge at a court in Maine recently sentenced a culprit to twenty-five years in the state prison. This fact was communicated to the prisoner's mother, who was struck at the magnitude of the sentence. "What did they do that for?" she exclaimed. "Twenty-five years! Why, he won't be contented there three weeks."

The *Academy* says that Mr. George Smith hopes to be able to start on the 17th of this month to resume excavations at Nineveh. Every effort will be made not to discontinue the work until all the remaining fragments of the library of Assur-bani-pal are exhumed. The most important fragments, those relating to the early legends and mythology of Babylonia, lie in the neighbourhood of the trench opened by Mr. Smith when last on the spot, and the completion of the series of tables translated by him in his "Chaldean Account of Genesis" may therefore be looked forward to with certainty.

**NEGRO VIEWS OF HEAVEN.**—A negro woman was relating her experience to a gaping congregation of colour, and among other things, she said she had been in heaven. One of the ladies of colour asked her: "Sister, did you see any black folks up in heaven?" "Oh, get out! you s'pose I go in de kitchen when I was dar?" This reminds us of an anecdote of a coloured man, who was so convinced of the lowliness of his position, and that labour was a natural lot, that he even was indifferent as to a future state, believing that "dey'll make nigger work eben if he go to heaven." A clergyman tried to argue him out of his opinion, by representing this not to be the case, insomuch as there was absolutely no work for him to do in heaven. His answer was: "Oh, you g'way, massa, I knows better. If dere's no work for cuiled folks up dar, dey'll make 'em shub de clouds along. You can't fool dis chile."—*American paper*.

**AN ICE RINK AT ALL SEASONS.**—Iron is informed that after five or six years of experimenting in Chelsea, Professor Gamgee has at last got at the secret of making an artificial ice sheet, capable of being maintained in perfect condition for skating from one year's end to the other. A similar plan has been patented, and is about to be put into practical operation in Glasgow. The process is the same as that used in the manufacture of ice for dietic purposes. It is very simple. A mixture of salt and water, cooled with ether in refrigerators, is made to pass between iron plates about half-an-inch apart. The upper plate is covered with a thin layer



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GRATIS.

## RELIGIOUS EQUALITY.

### CONFERENCE AT WESTMINSTER.

A largely-attended and influential Conference of the friends of religious equality convened jointly by the Committees of the Liberation Society and of the Deputies of the Three Denominations, met yesterday (Tuesday) in the Westminster Palace Hotel, with the view of taking into consideration several questions likely to occupy the attention of Parliament during the present session, such as the position of the Burials Question, the subject of Clerical Fellowships and Headships of Colleges in the Universities, and the administration of the Endowed Schools Acts and the Elementary Education Act.

Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., presided, and amongst those present were Mr. T. R. Hill, M.P., Mr. Watkin Williams, M.P., Mr. Sergeant Simon, M.P., Mr. E. A. Leatham, M.P., Mr. A. W. Young, M.P., Mr. A. McArthur, M.P.; Mr. Thos. Burt, M.P.; Mr. Jos. Cowen, M.P.; Rev. Dr. Chalmers, Mr. G. W. Latham, Mr. A. Illingworth, Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley, Lieut-General Sir W. M. Coghlan, K.C.B., Ramegate; Mr. A. Dunn, the Rev. W. Braden, Sir Peter Spokes, Reading; Mr. John Glover; Mr. E. West, Caversham; Mr. W. Edwards, Mr. C. Shepheard, the Rev. Dr. Parker, the Rev. W. Urwick, the Rev. Dr. Morrison, Mr. H. R. Ellington; Mr. Robt. Sinclair, Mr. Stafford Allen, the Rev. Marmaduke Miller, Mr. P. Bayne, the Rev. Dr. Edmond, Mr. Jas. Hopgood, the Rev. Dr. Cowdy, the Rev. J. Radford Thomson, Tunbridge Wells; the Rev. G. W. Barrett, Norwich; Mr. C. S. Miall; the Rev. Thomas Lloyd, St. Ives; Mr. G. C. Whiteley, M.A.; Mr. Henry Wright; the Rev. J. P. Chown; Mr. F. J. Horniman; Mr. J. Whibley, Cambridge; Mr. W. S. Caine, Liverpool; Mr. G. H. Baines, Leicester; Mr. S. R. Pattison; Mr. E. Cory; the Rev. F. Sweet, Romford; the Rev. H. Ierson, M.A.; the Rev. A. Gordon, M.A., Norwich; Mr. R. Whibley, Sittingbourne; Mr. H. S. Leonard; the Rev. A. Mearns; the Rev. W. Dorling; Mr. W. Bond, Cambridge; the Rev. B. Waugh; Mr. R. B. Belcher, Blockley; Mr. S. S. Mander, Wolverhampton; Mr. A. Reyner, Ashton; Mr. J. Gripper, Chelmsford; Mr. W. Burley, Theberton; Mr. Ald. Lee, Wakefield; the Rev. W. Griffith, Derby; Mr. Joseph Clarke, Mr. P. Crellin, Mr. A. Haggis, Mr. John Templeton, &c. Letters were read from Mr. Fawcett, M.P., Mr. Dixon, M.P., Sir H. Havelock, M.P., Alderman McArthur, M.P., Mr. Gourley, M.P., Mr. Stevenson, M.P., Professor Bryce, and Sir Morton Peto. The room was densely crowded throughout the proceedings.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have been convened on this occasion by the joint action of two bodies which both have a considerable representative character. One is the Committee of the Deputies of the Three Denominations of Protestant Dissenters of London and its neighbourhood—a body which has been in existence for 130 years, and which has rendered important services in promoting the principles of religious liberty, and in asserting and vindicating the rights of Nonconformists; the other is the Committee of the Liberation Society, a name which throughout the length and breadth of this country is becoming familiar in men's mouths as household words, but a name which, notwithstanding the inspiring associations which the word "Liberation" ought to recall or suggest, is, I am afraid, hated by many who are our countrymen as cordially as it is said a certain personage hates holy-water. (Laughter.) You are called together this afternoon not to do any of the terrible things which some timid and prudent liberal politicians are never weary of deprecating and denouncing—you are not called together to assert abstract principles, to demand organic changes, or to indulge in Utopian aspirations; yet those are the things we are credited with, by the class of politicians to whom I have referred. But you are asked to discuss questions of such immediate and practical interest and concern, that I should have thought your deliberations must gladden the hearts even of the most discreet and least enterprising of Liberal politicians, not even excepting the law officers of the late Government. (Laughter.) The first question with which you have to deal is the present state and prospects of the burials question. You have no doubt remarked, and perhaps been a little amused with the flutter which was created in the ecclesiastical camp by this matter during the

recess, and you have also observed no doubt the numerous expedients or alternatives that have been suggested in order to ward off the one perfectly simple, obvious, and natural solution of the difficulty—viz., the frank recognition of the fact that the churchyards are the parochial burying-places, in which every parishioner has a right by the common law to be buried, and ought to have the right to be buried with such rights, or no rights, as are in harmony with the feelings and wishes of the surviving relations. (Hear, hear.) I believe that the agitation against the measure of my friend Mr. Osborne Morgan, to whose able and skilful conduct of our cause we are greatly indebted—(Hear, hear)—is in the main a clerical agitation. No doubt there are some laymen, both in the House of Commons and out of it, who are more clerical than the clerics—(Laughter and "Hear, hear")—but on the other hand there are, to my certain knowledge, many gentlemen among the ranks of the Conservatives, who I believe are actuated by kindly and generous feelings toward the Nonconformists, and who would be very glad to see this question settled in a manner that shall be satisfactory to their feelings; but whether these well-disposed Conservatives will be able to resist what Sydney Smith called "the forty-parson power" that has been brought to bear upon them, remains to be seen. Now I don't wish to speak or think harshly even of the clergy, for we must make great allowances for their antecedents, their surroundings, and their peculiar prejudices and temptations. We must consider how difficult it is for men to whom the State has assigned an artificial superiority by law over the rest of their fellow men, to relinquish such exclusive privileges, and to come down quietly to a level with the rest of their fellow subjects; but I think one thing is perfectly apparent, and that is that the great body of the clergy don't rightly understand or appreciate the spirit of the age in which they live—(Hear, hear)—they don't discern the signs of the times—(Hear, hear)—they cannot see what is clear to every impartial observer—that the world everywhere, not only in our own country, but in all countries, is becoming additionally impatient of any loud assertion of priestly prerogative or pretension—(applause)—and certainly there have been some most astounding developments of that priestly spirit in connection with this very burial question. Take for instance this:—Because the law of the land has adjudged that a Methodist minister may put the word "reverend" on a tombstone erected to the memory of his child, there are a considerable number of the clergy who have proclaimed that they renounce that dishonoured title—(laughter)—henceforth and for evermore. Now, taking all things into account, I think this is one of the most heroic acts of self-abnegation recorded in the history of the world, for we may safely assume with regard to some of these good men that in giving up the title of "reverend," they give up everything they possess—(laughter)—as they have absolutely no other distinction by which they can impose a sense of their own importance upon their fellow-men—neither learning, nor literature, nor eloquence, nor social influence, nor weight of character, nor reputation for Christian charity or common-sense. (Renewed laughter.) And when we see men thus stripping themselves naked for conscience' sake—(loud laughter)—or as Lord Westbury says, "for what they are pleased to call their conscience"—we must bow down in reverence and admiration of such sacrifices—(Hear, hear)—and that it is sacrifice is obvious from the sense of discomfort they feel in this state of perfect nakedness, and the desperate attempts they are making to sew themselves an apron of fig-leaves in substitution for what they have given up. One clergyman says that he would give up the title of "reverend" on condition that he is addressed as P.P.—not a very felicitous proposal, because the letters P.P. might suggest to the not very profound, "pooh, pooh." (Laughter.) Another clergyman says he will give up his title of "reverend," but recommends his brother clergyman to do what I suppose he intends to do himself—to take the surname of his parish; but what the surname of the parish means I do not quite understand, but I suppose he means to do just as the bishops do. You know when they attain the episcopal degree they lay aside their family names and adopt the names of their sees—Henry of Exeter, and so on, and this is the proposal which this good man makes, that the clergy should take the name of their parishes; whereupon the *Pall Mall Gazette*, with a levity which is quite shocking, suggests that there might be some ludicrous title, such as Peter of Pedlington, or Simon of Porkington. (Laughter.) But is it not pitiful to see good men, for I have no doubt many of them are good men, so drunk with official arrogance as to play such fantastic tricks before high heaven? (Hear, hear.) Now, it is a question that will come before you to-day, whether you are disposed to accept any of the alternatives that have been suggested, one of which, it is surmised, will receive the countenance of the Government. In my opinion it will be safer for

us to stand firmly on our principle, and only to accept in full the thing we are entitled to. Another question you will have to deal with is that of further University reform; and we are very glad and very grateful for the marvellous change in this respect with regard to the great schools of learning within the last fifteen or twenty years. The change, however, I am bound to say, is in the main owing to our own persevering and restless endeavour. We have one of the leaders of the struggle in the House of Commons with us here to-day—my friend, Mr. Heywood—(Hear, hear)—to whose services we are under great obligations; and certainly I think we have the right to say that the use that has been made by our young men of the privileges to which they have been thus admitted amply vindicates their right to that admission—(Hear)—for I find that in 1860 the senior wrangler was a Nonconformist; in 1868 the senior wrangler was a Nonconformist; in 1869, 1871, and 1873 the senior wrangler at Cambridge in each of those years was a Nonconformist; and in 1874 the second wrangler was a Nonconformist; and, with the exception of the senior wrangler, the first four in the list were all Nonconformists. Then again in 1875, the senior wrangler was the son of a Nonconformist; so that out of fifteen annual competitive examinations for the senior wranglership, the Nonconformists seven times occupied that high position. Well, but there still remains a good deal to be accomplished. There are still an immense number of fellowships, and, I believe, nearly all the headships of colleges, in both Universities which are avowedly and virtually confined to the clergy of the Church of England. According to the statement of Professor Wilkins, of Owens College, in twenty-four colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, all but the clergy of the Established Church are excluded from nearly one-half of the crowning prizes of a student's life. The exact numbers were, in 1872 (I don't know whether any change has taken place since), 190 fellowships open to unrestricted competition, and 181 confined to the clergy of the Church of England. Now, we demand, not in the interests of Nonconformity, but in the interests of the laity of all denominations—(Hear, hear)—high learning, and free thought, that the rewards of merit shall be given irrespective as well of ecclesiastical position as of theological opinion. (Hear, hear.) And I ought to apologise to you for dealing with this question, when one so eminently competent in every way as Mr. Lyulph Stanley will bring the matter before you more fully. The third point which is to engage our attention this afternoon is the spirit in which the Endowed Schools Act and the Elementary Education Act are being administered by the Education Department. Unless we are greatly misinformed, or some very unexpected explanations are awaiting us, there is the greatest spirit of favouritism manifesting itself in befriending sectarian schools, and in obstructing and embarrassing school-board schools. In all probability, gentlemen, there is other work before you also in connection with primary education during the course of the present session, besides complaining and trying to get redress for administrative partialities and obstructions; for it is rumoured in the lobby of the House of Commons with considerable confidence that a bold attempt will be made to introduce compulsion in some form, but accompanied with a large bribe to the Church—(Hear, hear)—pointing, there is no doubt, by concessions of a very dangerous kind, to the perpetuation and extension of clerical influence and control over the primary education of the people of this country; and against that I think you must stand ready with all your might. (Hear, hear.) People talk about religious education. In these days there are many of those who speak of it with perfect sincerity, but, on the other hand, I believe there are others who, by religious education mean, in point of fact, ecclesiastical education. (Hear, hear.) But, gentlemen, while restricting ourselves this afternoon to the practical questions which I have enumerated, I do not think you wish it to be understood or imagined for a moment that you are going to relinquish or suspend your interest in, and your agitation for, the larger reform, which comprehends all these minor ones and a great many more. (Hear, hear.) On the contrary, the difficulty we have in getting redress for these minor grievances, and all that spirit which we have witnessed of late, the bitterness, the bigotry, the intolerance, the unyielding determination to cling to every rag of sectarian exclusiveness, and by reactionary legislation to give greater power to that sectarian exclusiveness—all this, I think, only confirms and intensifies our conviction that there is no deliverance for us except by laying the axe to the root of the tree—(loud applause)—the tree of ecclesiastical ascendancy, which, like the fabled poison-tree of Java, withers whatever comes under the shadow of its baleful branches. In carrying on this agitation, you must make up your mind to encounter great disadvantages and great discouragements. One of these is what I may call the conspiracy of silence on the part, especially, of the

metropolitan Press. I am glad to see it pretty well represented here this morning. (Hear, hear.) They will do all they can to omit noticing your meetings, reporting your speeches, or even mentioning your names. There have been recently a series of addresses delivered by two of our friends in various parts of the country, marked by as much ability, earnestness, and temper as any addresses that have been delivered in this country on any question—(Hear, hear)—but these have been scarcely noticed at all in the metropolitan Press. (Cries of "Shame, shame.") Then we have a dear and honoured friend, to whom I trust this meeting will send its respectful and cordial sympathy in the hour of his affliction, who for thirty years has been writing on this question in all its various aspects, with a mastery of principle, clearness of reasoning, and a force and facility of style rarely equalled; but his writings are scarcely ever acknowledged, and it was only by the accident of his having climbed upon the shoulder of a dean, that recently his ability in dealing with this question was recognised and universally acknowledged. Now, I am not going to complain of this conduct on the part of the metropolitan Press. They know what is best suited to the requirements and demands of their readers; but this has been, in point of fact, their habit in dealing with questions and with agitations of this kind in all times past. Take, for instance, the Anti-Slavery movement. You see we are all now come to be fervent anti-slavery men, from the least even unto the greatest. But when I was writing the Life of Joseph Sturge I had occasion to investigate rather carefully the history of that agitation. I found the Anti-Slavery Agency Committee, in its report in 1832, making this remark, "That scarcely a newspaper or magazine could be found which on this topic was just enough to be neutral; by far the greater number combined to oppose the Abolitionists, whatever might be the distinction of their party, or, at any rate, of their politics"—and yet this was only two or three years before the great triumph was accomplished in the abolition of slavery in our West India colonies! I was lately looking over some of Mr. Cobden's letters to myself written in 1853. I suppose I had been complaining of the severe attacks that were made by the Press at that time upon the peace party, because they were resisting the Russian war, but public opinion has come right on that question. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Cobden says, "We seem to be more savagely beset than ever by the London Press, but perhaps their anger is not a bad sign, and what would we have given in the early part of our League agitation to have been so much abused?" And so it is, for some reason or other, that the metropolitan Press either ignores or resists agitation of this kind; but nevertheless we shall go forward undaunted, turning aside neither to the right nor to the left, because this great conflict with us is not a matter, I dare to say, of sectarian jealousy or anything of the kind, but of the very highest principle—a principle that goes down to the very root, in our belief, of all social and religious, and even intellectual liberty. (Applause.)

#### THE BURIALS QUESTION.

Mr. Carvell Williams then at the chairman's request read a paper on this subject, which commenced by referring to the debate and division of last year. Not only was Mr. Osborne Morgan's bill more feebly opposed than before, but, although it was thrown out by a majority of fourteen, its actual supporters were one more than in 1870, when the majority in its favour was ninety. Some seventy Conservatives were absent and many of the party declared it would be their last vote against the bill. The question had since been a "burning question," and, although the opponents of the bill have had the field to themselves, it was now felt that the matter was rapidly ripening for settlement. The speaker then described what had occurred during the recess:

All through the autumn and winter it has been discussed in diocesan synods and Church defence conferences with an ardour which could not have been exceeded if the very existence of the Establishment were at stake. And what has been the result? Why, that the conviction of the public mind—apart from the clerical mind—is that the opening of the parish churchyards is perceptibly nearer than it was twelve months ago.

That conviction is due to several causes. One is that most of the clerical objectors to the Burials Bill, and those laymen who have been well described as more clerical than the clergy, have displayed so narrow, so intolerant, and unpractical a spirit that even a friendly critic like Sir William Harcourt says that their conduct appears to partake of the character of a suicidal mania, induced by ecclesiastical softening of the brain!

Another cause is, that both the bishops and the clergy are thoroughly divided in opinion, the majority agreeing in nothing except that Mr. Osborne Morgan's bill ought to be resisted—some of them say to the very death.

Those who expressed their desire for "a reasonable compromise" have had nine months to frame one, and the opportunity has been of so little use, that the Primate, and some other of the bishops, frankly confess that they have nothing to propose, and must wait to see what is proposed by others.

A few—a very few—have frankly accepted the principle of the Burials Bill, and in doing so have displayed a degree of courage, of liberality, and of Christian feeling, which we ought to-day cheerfully to acknowledge. But nearly all the resolutions which have been carried at synods, at conferences, and at meetings, have embodied the opposite principle, viz., that none but those who are in holy orders in the Church of England should

be allowed to conduct a burial service in the churchyard of the parish.

Well, it is not for us to complain that the controversy has been narrowed to this point. For we are assailing a clerical monopoly, and the Established clergy say that whatever else they may give up, they will not give up that. It is in vain that they are reminded that the cry of "No surrender!" commonly leads to the surrender of everything; some of them, at least, would prefer that to allowing anybody but themselves to conduct any burial service in what they call their consecrated churchyards.

In that respect they have rendered us a great service; because they have saved us from what might have been a great danger. We might at this moment have had cast upon us the responsibility of dealing with species of compromises which could not have been accepted with consistency, and yet could not have been rejected without mischief. But Nonconformists have nothing before them which presents to them the slightest temptation to injudicious compromise, or that gives them the smallest difficulty.

One proposal, indeed, might have occasioned hesitation, if not a difference of opinion, and that is, the allowance of other services than those of the Church of England, provided that they be limited to prayer, singing, and the reading of the Scriptures. While, however, individual Churchmen have expressed willingness to accept that solution of the difficulty, probably the resolutions in its favour could be counted on the fingers of one hand. At the beginning of the discussion, the fear chiefly expressed had reference to infidel addresses, or political, or polemical harangues. But, as Mr. Hope has confessed, it is not so much a question of service, as of the man who is to conduct the service, and no matter how decorous, or how orthodox the service, if it be performed by a Dissenter, that Dissenter will be as Mordecai at the gate in the eye of the Hamans of the Established Church.

The speaker then proceeded to refer to the two distinct proposals for a settlement of the question which came from the other side—silent interments and separate burial-grounds; remedies certain to be rejected by those to whom they were offered. Silent burial! Why probably that was already a legal right. Yet that which Sir John Nicholl, an ecclesiastical judge, had declared to be an "indecency"—burial without the Church service—was now actually offered as a concession to be gratefully accepted. Many Churchmen acknowledged this to be worthless, as well as a mockery of those to whom it is offered. There are insuperable objections to the other scheme—the provision of new burial-grounds for Dissenters—which Mr. Williams proceeded to describe:

In the majority of country parishes they are not wanted; for there is plenty of room for all in the churchyards. And who is to pay for them? Those who make the recommendation are disagreed on that point. Some would have recourse to parochial rates or a Government grant. Others say plainly that Dissent is a luxury, which like other luxuries, must be paid for, and that Churchmen will not burden themselves, even to get rid of the dead bodies of Dissenters.

Yet the pecuniary objection is by no means the strongest objection. This multiplication of village graveyards would perpetuate and extend that wretched sectarianism in burial matters which we wish to bring to an end. And it would not meet the grievance—which is, that the members of a family cannot be buried in the same grave without, in many cases, depriving the relatives of the burial services which they prefer. Nothing will remove this latter difficulty but a common burial-place for all, open to services for all. That would be a simple and a sufficient remedy which would cost nothing; while that which is proposed as a substitute would be cumbersome, costly, and ineffectual, and in a few years would probably be abandoned.

The question, therefore, stands in this position:

We have a definite scheme for putting an end to a distinct grievance. If the existence of that grievance is not admitted, it is admitted that it would be wise to make, at least, moderate and reasonable concessions. Our opponents have had ample opportunity of advising a friendly Government as to the terms on which the question could be settled with the least violence to their own feelings, and the opportunity may be said to have been wholly lost. For that reason, among others, every politician of ordinary sagacity sees that the question does not stand where it did a year ago. It is felt that its solution is only a question of time, and at present the Burials Bill is the only measure before the public which presents the basis of a settlement, and Nonconformists are thoroughly united in its support.

Whatever may happen when the subject again comes before Parliament, public opinion is increasingly on our side. There is a feeling abroad that it will have to be taken out of the hands of the clergy and be dealt with by the laity—that, in the language of the *Times*, "The Legislature will have to put the business on the basis of justice and truth," and will have to disregard the protests of interested ecclesiastics.

In conclusion the speaker referred to the present position of the question—to the withdrawal of Mr. Morgan's bill owing to his unfavourable ballot, to his notice of a resolution on the subject [given elsewhere] and to the belief of competent advisers that the change will be favourable to the object that the hon. member has in view, promoting a thorough debate and a larger division. For the present the motion stands for March 3, though it may have to be subsequently altered. At all events the time for action is brief. Such preparation should be instant and decisive. It was now the turn of those who were in favour of the principle embodied in Mr. Morgan's resolution to speak and act; and having such a cause and such hopes, it would be strange indeed if they did not prove equal to the emergency. (Cheers.)

Mr. ALEXANDER MACARTHUR, M.P., moved the following resolution:

1. That this Conference regards with great satisfaction the intention of Mr. Osborne Morgan, M.P., to

submit to the House of Commons a resolution embodying the principle of the Burial Laws Amendment Bill, and rejoices at the marked advance of public opinion in favour of the measure; notwithstanding the antagonism of a considerable section of the Established clergy.

2. That it considers the alternative proposals recently made for the settlement of the question to be either altogether inadequate for their professed object, or, in other respects, open to serious objection. 3. The authorisation of silent interments in parochial churchyards would, in the case of the unbaptized, simply leave the present law unaltered; while it would fail to remove the grievance in which the demand for the Burials Bill originated, viz., that Nonconformists cannot have their own funeral rites, and avail themselves of the services of their own ministers. 4. To provide separate burial-places, or additional ground, in churchyards where sufficient provision already exists, would occasion a needless expenditure of the money of the ratepayers—would involve a surrender on the part of Nonconformists of their present right of interment in such churchyards, and would perpetuate and extend sectarianism in connection with the burial of the dead. 5. While means for securing propriety and decorum may rightly be adopted, the proposal to prescribe, by Act of Parliament, the mode of conducting burial services is repugnant to the principles and feelings of Nonconformists, and must fail to give permanent satisfaction. 6. The Conference is convinced of the futility of any measure which is not based upon the principle that the parochial churchyards belong to, and exist for the benefit of, the parishioners, who are entitled to such burial rites as are in harmony with their convictions and feelings—subject only to the restrictions already named. That principle has been in practical operation for many years in Ireland and in Scotland, and without any injurious results; and as it is now proposed to extend that principle to England and Wales, the Conference calls upon the friends of religious equality, both in the House of Commons and throughout the country, to afford to Mr. Osborne Morgan their most earnest support.

He said that as he was suffering from a severe cold he was told that a speech would not be necessary, as other speakers would be ready to address them. He might just say, however, that he was in full harmony with the views which those who had convened the Conference had in view. The chairman had referred to the fact that great allowance must be made for those clerical gentlemen who oppose the Burials Bill. He was aware of that, but, notwithstanding, he might just say that so many unkind, ungenerous, unjust, and he thought he might add, untrue statements had been made by the opponents of the measure that it was really difficult to speak with proper decorum on such a subject, and he thought he could see no other reason for such conduct than their early training, and habits, and surroundings. He had seen the operation of the bill with regard to Ireland. On many occasions he had seen in the cathedral burial-grounds the Nonconformist ministers holding their services over members of their congregations who had died; but had never known the slightest irregular or indecent manifestation, or any unkindly feeling arise. (Hear, hear.) He believed the idea entertained by some that anything of the kind would occur in England was quite unfounded, and that there could be no real valid objection to the measure. He was also glad to find that any idea of compromise had been given up.

Mr. JOHN MORLEY, in seconding the motion, said he only wanted to make one or two remarks on the resolution. He wished to notice, in the first place, remarks which had been made in several quarters on the policy of centering their efforts on what was, after all, a special question, instead of directing their energies and fire on the larger question which remained behind. He sympathised to some extent with this feeling; but in discussing the special questions they no doubt made converts to the general question of religious equality. Certain reasons also existed for devoting a certain amount of energy to this measure. If Parliament passed that bill, it would show that both sides had manifested a certain amount of good sense and moderation, and as there was behind the question a larger one which might tax the good sense and energy of each party in the country, he should be glad to see the former settled first. The Burials Bill to some extent stopped the way for the larger question, and afforded a pretext for the timorous Liberals to hold aloof from the question of religious equality. There were many of those who wished to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. The Burials Bill was of this stamp—it allowed such persons to make a reputation for Liberalism at a very cheap rate. One point he might be allowed to refer to; it had been said repeatedly in Parliament and the Press, that they were not afraid of, and had no objection to, any Dissenting service; what they were afraid of was blasphemous or infidel services which he might describe as of the same kind as are performed in France. If he knew anything of his countrymen, there was no man in the 123 sects into which this country was divided, or in the one which comprised all outside the 123, if the alternative were put before them of admitting blasphemous services, who would not rather let the control rest with the Established Clergy for one hundred years to come. (Cheers.) Reverence for the dead would not grow less, but would increase. He was well acquainted with a considerable number of the kind of persons whom the opponents of the measure were most afraid of, and he was sure there was not one of them to whom the imprudent ranting that sometimes went on at a French funeral would not be most abhorrent. Jacob's vine, planted on one side of the wall, had grown over and hung upon the other. There had been a question raised in America as to whether coloured men could purchase ground in public cemeteries, and he was ashamed to say it was decided in

the negative. English clergy treated the Dissenter here as the coloured men were treated in America. When he reflected that those men were some of the best and kindest men in England, he still recollects—good and kind as they were in some other relations—they were still invested with the odious pride of ecclesiastical privilege. Those who thought they were agitating merely for a sentimental grievance ought to read the correspondence which appeared in the *Guardian*, and other Church papers, which showed that it was the Establishment which severed the community of English national life—(Hear, hear)—and sundered the nation in two. No doubt it would be said that this bill was the stepping stone to disestablishment. All of them knew that the greater the obstacles and more prolonged the opposition, the more fierce would be the attack, and the greater the ultimate success. If it was meant, by saying that the day for that resolution was past, to abate their energy one jot, the purpose would not be fulfilled. (Cheers.)

Mr. A. W. YOUNG, M.P., said when he came into the room that day he thought he was only there to show his sympathy with the meeting, and was not at all aware that a meeting composed almost entirely of Dissenters would ask a member of the Church of England to take part in the discussion—he ought to say a member of the Protestant Church of England. (Laughter.) He was, however, not disinclined, when Mr. Williams asked him, to speak two or three words, connected as he was with Cornwall where Nonconformists were, he believed, in a considerable majority—connected with that county both by property and representation, although not by residence. When he first entered Parliament that was not one of the burning questions, and therefore no questions were put to him or pledges entered into; he was not asked what his opinions were upon such a measure. It had therefore been gratifying to him to find his sentiments agreeing with those of his constituents. Therefore he had had the pleasure of supporting Mr. Osborne Morgan's measure ever since it had been introduced, and he need hardly say he should continue to do so long as he had the pleasure of voting. He had had the opportunity of attending the funeral of more than one of his friends, in the West of England, who were Nonconformists, in his own particular borough, where for three parishes there was only the burial yard in connection with the Church. He had attended in the chapel where a burial service, as beautiful as that used in the Church, was read, and after that filed into the public streets and followed the body. At the churchyard they were stopped, and might go no further, and the last word of consolation to the friends of the deceased had to be said in the public street; and then silently the body was taken into the churchyard and put into the ground. He had seen that, and it had not impressed the minds of others with charity, peace, and goodwill towards their neighbours. On one occasion the child of one of his friends was buried in a vault immediately inside the churchyard wall, whilst the service had to be held outside. He believed such a practice, and its continuance, to be degrading, and as tending to present Nonconformists in a position of inferiority to the rest of the world. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Dr. EDMOND said, with regard to the reference to Scotland, there were two reasons why that pitiful and most painful controversy could not be conceived and comprehended by the Scotch mind. The first was that Scotchmen as a rule did not make much of consecration of persons, or places, or things: it was a thing the value of which somehow or other the Scotch mind could not appreciate. The last thing they could understand was the consecration of a burial-ground where the dead were resting. Scotchmen coming to England are struck with pain at seeing Nonconformist ministers shut out of parish graveyards, and another thing which equally surprises them was that, in the modern cemeteries, there should be blazing before the public eye that monstrous division between the consecrated and unconsecrated ground, so that fellow-subjects of the Queen and fellow-Christians, whilst commingling in life, should be parted in death. (Hear, hear.) Silent interments were certainly the rule in Scotland, and had arisen from the hatred of his countrymen to anything resembling the prayers for the dead, and everything concerned with Popery and priesthood. Their opponents might say then we shall have Scotch votes for silent burials, but England was not Scotland, and the case being altered alters the case, and Scotchmen often spoke in favour of the few words spoken over the grave of the English Nonconformist. The Church had been content to take its stand upon the graveyards in defence of the Establishment; he would say, Let the dead past bury its dead, and get rid of the whole thing altogether. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. PROBYN asked Mr. O. Morgan if any provision would be made, or what would be the result, if any, of our Roman Catholic countrymen wishing to conduct a service in the graveyards over their dead.

Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Q.C., M.P., said: Gentlemen, I must in the first place disclaim all credit for the wiliness and cleverness which our opponents have been good enough to credit me, for the way in which I have changed my tactics on this question. My explanation is exceedingly simple. I came down on the first day of the session intending to do

what I have done for six sessions before—to introduce a bill to amend the Burial Laws, but I soon found that owing to the great pressure upon the time of the House I had not the slightest chance, owing to the ballot, of bringing it on before the third Wednesday in July. Under these circumstances I was obliged to give up all idea of proceeding by bill, and sketched a resolution instead. I had not time to consult any of my friends with whom I usually act, but I saw my friend, your secretary, Mr. Carvell Williams, and we drew up the resolution under great pressure, because by the rules of the House it was necessary to withdraw the bill at once if we intended to proceed by resolution. The resolution has been a great deal criticised, and I should be exceedingly thankful for any suggestion as to its framing. The *Times*, speaking of the preamble, describes it as a "menacing preamble." I don't know much about its being menacing, but I am certain of one thing, and that is of its being true, and I hope that I shall be able to prove that it is true. No doubt there are certain advantages in proceeding by resolution. A resolution is more elastic than a bill. I feel certain that anyone who would have voted for the bill would not refuse to vote for the resolution, and I hope that some who would not vote for the bill will be able to vote for the resolution. We have admirable precedents for proceeding by resolution. We have the precedent of the Irish Emancipation Act, and the all-important precedent of the Irish Church Act. Now, one word as to the alternative suggestions that have been made. I believe they have been embodied in the form of an amendment by Mr. Talbot, who is, to a certain extent, leading the opposition against my bill. He proposes two things. I believe he introduced a bill yesterday embodying these two provisions: first, that silent services should be allowed in the churchyards, and secondly, that provision should be made for the acquisition of cemeteries whether they are wanted or whether the churchyards are full or not. As a ratepayer, if on no other ground, I should decidedly object to that. (Hear, hear.) It simply comes to this, that you are going to offer to Nonconformists the privilege of exactly the same method of interment which the law provides in the case of suicides. (Laughter.) I don't know that I need say anything more of that than to express my astonishment that three men should have been found to put their names to the back of such a bill. (Cheers.) Then as to the other proposal, I should like to know what the farmers' friends would say in the House of Commons who show a resistance to any increase of rates—what they would say to a proposal which, if it is carried out, would involve the expenditure of several hundreds of thousands, or perhaps millions of pounds, merely in order to get rid of the fantastic scruples of the clergy; because I think we shall be able to approach the subject with an amount of light thrown upon it such as we have never had before. I have moved for certain important returns, showing the exact number of the churchyards closed in the country, and those which are still open; and these returns will be forthcoming in a few days; and I think from what I have seen of them already, they will throw important light upon this question, and so far from showing, in the words of the Home Secretary, that this is a minimum grievance, they will show that it is a grievance which extends to more than half of England. (Hear, hear.) Then as to the question put by Mr. Probyn—most certainly I, for one, have never proposed, and I don't wish, that there should be any distinction made. (Hear, hear.) The principle which I advocate has been the same all along, and it is simply this—that the churchyard, by the common law of England, is the parish cemetery. The ecclesiastical law has turned it into something else; it has turned it into an ecclesiastical cemetery; and I wish by my resolution simply to bring back the thing to what the common law originally intended, and give to every parishioner, not merely that to which he has a right already—to be interred in his parish churchyard—but the right to be interred with his own rites and ceremonies. (Hear, hear.) I think we have got beyond the day for compromise. (Applause.) There was a time when upon this question I almost may be said to have invited compromise. I was foolish enough to believe that the compromises and suggestions and amendments which were brought forward by my opponents were really meant. But what happened? No sooner did I accept an amendment than the person who proposed it began to quarrel with his own amendment—(laughter)—and the consequence was that the bill, in whatever shape it was amended—and it was amended several times, first by a select committee, and then by a committee of the whole House—was equally objected to. Well, now I have learned to be wiser. I know that these objections founded upon the supposed indecency and indecorum which would ensue if my bill were passed, are really libels upon my fellow-countrymen—(applause)—to suggest that they alone, amongst the nations of civilised Europe, would be guilty of such an outrage to the feelings of the dead as to select that occasion to gratify personal or political rancour. (Hear, hear.) But these things I assure you are not meant. (Laughter.) The objection to my bill lies deeper down, I am afraid: for having had correspondence with a great many of the clergy, and with laity more clerical than the clergy, on this

subject, I am driven to the conclusion that the real objection to my bill lies in that ecclesiastical pride which is the curse and bane of our country. Looking to that, I cannot help thinking that the development of this question more and more brings out that most unfortunate characteristic, and I cannot help thinking that the clergy will find to their cost that it was an evil day for the Established Church of England when they first determined to fight the battle of the Church upon the battle-ground of the churchyards. (Applause.)

Mr. CARVELL WILLIAMS announced that letters of apology for absence had been received from Mr. Fawcett, M.P., Mr. Dixon, M.P., Sir Henry Havellock, M.P., Mr. Ald. McArthur, M.P., Mr. Gourlay, M.P., and Sir M. Peto, who, while himself content with a limited service, admitted that the clerical objection was to any service at all. The resolution was then carried.

#### CLERICAL FELLOWSHIPS AND HEADSHIPS.

The Hon. Lyulph Stanley was then called upon to read a paper on this subject, which was as follows:—

The question of university reform has at all times occupied the attention of the Liberation Society, but at the present moment, when the Ministry have announced their intention of dealing with the question, it especially behoves us to be vigilant. What may be the Government bill we know not, but we know that Lord Salisbury and Sir Gathorne Hardy are active members of the Government, and from their past activity in thwarting minor measures of academic reform we may infer that they at least bring no goodwill to the task they have now undertaken. But as we have fought the battle of liberal education and won it before, we need not despair now that we have to fight it again. Our principle must be to hold fast what has been gained, and to seek to carry the application of our principles to those points where they have hitherto been excluded. Interested as we are in promoting the advancement of science in the universities, our more direct duty is to remove these hindrances to it which spring from sectarian exclusiveness and denominational privilege. We shall be glad to aid the friends of learning in making our national universities worthy of their great historic position; but we claim especially to point out for removal those restrictions based on religious opinions which are corrupting and which hinder the educational work of the university.

And, first, we assert the principle that the universities are national and lay, and for the advancement of learning; that they are not the property of the Church of England—that they are not clerical—that they are not seminaries for the clergy. If the true character and function of the universities be borne in mind, we shall have a clear way marked out for us as to what impediments have to be removed. We require then, first, that all clerical restrictions from fellowships be removed. We object to the limitations as corrupting to the consciences of young men, who are bribed by these endowments to take orders and to profess certain beliefs, when in the absence of this inducement they could not do so. We object to them because they force upon the colleges inferior men who could not obtain fellowships by open competition, and who nevertheless take an equal part in the government and education of the university.

We object to them, thirdly, because the preservation of these clerical offices packs the University with a body of men who consider other than academic objects, and whose votes and conduct are determined by sectarian and educational motives. There are at present in the University of Oxford 108 fellowships which must be clerical. Besides these, all the fellowships in Exeter and Lincoln Colleges, numbering twenty-seven, are, except two of them, subject to clerical restrictions after a certain time, and these restrictions though not as irksome as in other colleges, nevertheless have their effect. In Cambridge 171 fellowships are conditional on taking orders sooner or later.

It must be remembered that the colleges have numerous valuable livings in their gift, which alone would exercise a considerable influence in determining fellows to take orders, even in the absence of this legal objection. The Established Church, if deprived of this power of exclusion from fellowships, would still be richly subsidized and aided in the Universities. Not to dwell too long on the mischiefs which attend this preponderance of clerical fellows, I may mention as an illustration of the way they spend the college money, that in five colleges of Oxford more than 20,000/- a year of college funds are employed in augmenting the endowments of college livings; and that in some of these colleges this waste has been going on for years, while they have omitted to comply with their statutory obligation to endow University professorships, or have stinted miserably those they did pay; and at the same time they have been running into debt largely for purposes either of building or redeeming fines, without providing proper sinking funds according to law.

The next evil I have to speak of is the restriction of by far the larger number of headships to clergymen of the Church of England. The objections made to the clerical restrictions for fellowships apply to these, but in addition there is this grave objection. At the present day there is great difficulty in keeping able men as students in the University. When they have got their fellowships they see no career before them as residents, and they therefore very soon go away and seek their fortunes at the Bar or in other professions. One of the crying needs of the present day is to furnish a suitable career with hopes of advancement for those who are willing to devote themselves to learning and to teaching. The headships of the colleges are admirably fitted to answer this purpose, and were the colleges free to choose their best men, there would be a great inducement to many men of promise to follow up the studies by which they have gained academic distinction, and the scope of which they are beginning to appreciate. Clergymen will be as eligible as others if they are equally fit, but let us no longer give them the monopoly of these honourable and lucrative posts.

There remains the question of episcopal visitors. These are a legacy from the middle ages of which we should be well quit. In the time of the Plantagenets there was no incongruity when the Lord Chancellor

was almost always a bishop, and when the Bishops' Courts were in active operation, that these same men, the most learned in the country and trained to the study of common law, should be visitors and judges of the colleges. But we have long outgrown this state of things. Even in questions of doctrine no bishop thinks of acting as judge. Every one expects the Chancellor of a diocese to be a layman and a lawyer, and in higher cases of the same kind, Lord Penzance judges subject to an appeal to the Queen in Council. Why then should we still suffer from Episcopal visitation in our ancient universities?

Justice's justice has become proverbial, "crowners' quest" law is equally notorious. Every one now demands that judicially-framed minds should decide legal disputes, and by proper judicial procedure. But college visitors are outside and beyond the law; their edicts need no reasons nor foundation beyond the will of the visitor, and, however absurd, however iniquitous, it is almost impossible to challenge them. We require that their judicial functions shall be transferred to some one judicial person who shall hear and decide by proper methods and with proper powers and securities for doing justice. We also require that their administrative power shall be vested in some person or body interested in education and desirous of furthering it—either the Minister of Education for the time being, or some other body, possibly selected for assisting the college by the University, and certain other learned bodies, such as the Royal Society, and for the Universities, as at present, the Crown. (Cheers.)

Mr. JAMES HEYWOOD moved:—

1. That the measure passed in 1871 for the abolition of ecclesiastical tests in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham is confessedly incomplete; inasmuch as it retains the restrictions which, in a large number of cases, disqualify for the headships of colleges, and for the holding of fellowships, all persons who are not, or are not pledged to become, clergymen of the Church of England. 2. That the continued maintenance of the clerical condition, besides being objectionable on moral grounds, is most unjust to the laity, and is highly injurious to the interests of learning. 3. That, as the Government has announced its intention to propose further legislation relating to the Universities, the Conference recognises the necessity of such action as will ensure the removal of the disability now complained of.

He said the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the resources of the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, had reported that they possessed an annual income of 700,000/- a-year—the richest educational endowment of the whole world. He understood the Government were going to bring in a bill on the subject, and were going to propose a Parliamentary Commission. If so, it appeared to him the commission ought to have power to reduce useless expenditure, and to use it for what was best in the public interest. He was glad to see that some of the colleges had already come forward voluntarily to offer a portion of their endowments for institutions outside their own. The colleges of Balliol and New College had each offered 300/- a-year for five years towards a new college at Bristol for the promotion of literature and science. This would really do good—to raise the higher education of the people of Bristol and the West of England. He quite agreed that the clerical restrictions in regard to the fellowships and headships should be done away with. Out of this system had arisen the extraordinary power of the Ritualistic party in this country. No alteration would take place until this system was looked into and modified; and, in his opinion, what was required was a change in the system of education; and, instead of Latin and Greek, there should be the teaching of the modern languages, which was the most adapted for a great commercial nation.

Mr. G. W. LATHAM, of Bradwell Hall, Cheshire, seconded the resolution, and observed that they might say with regard to those persons who accepted these fellowships, "Lead us not into temptation," for these fellowships were a standing source of temptation, leading men to desert their honest convictions. The managers of the colleges were also tempted by the hope of pensions, which ought to go for the work of education. The consequence was that the outer world got inefficient teaching. Further, he would like to see another thing altered in society, viz., the practical ostracism of the Nonconformist clergy. (Hear, hear.) As a member of the Church of England he much regretted the way in which members of the Church of England treated the Nonconformist clergy—for they treated them as inferior men. If the opening of the college fellowships had any effect on this point he should rejoice, and he hoped it might have the effect of bringing the ministers of all denominations closer together. (Hear, hear.) But it would be necessary to watch what the Ministry did most carefully, and he hoped a standing committee of this body would be appointed to watch the course of events in the House of Commons, in order to see that those measures relating to the enormous revenues of our colleges were carried out in a satisfactory way.

The resolution was unanimously carried.

#### ENDOWED SCHOOLS AND PRIMARY EDUCATION.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH moved:—

That, in view of the complaints which have been made in connection with the new schemes for the management of endowed schools, and also with the administration of the Elementary Education Act, by the Education Department, as well as by school boards, the Conference feels compelled to insist on the necessity for continued vigilance on the part of the friends of religious equality, to prevent any infringement, for sectarian purposes, of the principles of the Endowed Schools Act and the Elementary Education Act.

He said it would be useless going into the origin of the two Acts, which had worked more unsatis-

factorily even than was anticipated by their opponents at the time. It was notorious that the Education Department gave every possible succour to the denominational schools at the expense of the board schools. Mr. Cobden stated many years ago that the only effectual mode of remedying educational neglect in England was by a system both compulsory and secular. In the few instances where the Endowed Schools Act had been honestly applied it worked admirably, as was shown in Bradford and other places, where the income had by good management been quadrupled. What was wanted was to destroy exclusive privilege in regard to the management of endowed schools; and all bills on the subject introduced by the present Government ought to be carefully watched.

The Rev. G. S. BARRETT, of Norwich, seconded the resolution, and mentioned an instance which occurred at Wrentham, Suffolk, in which a school board had been elected last August, and although an application had been made the month following for leave to transfer the British school to the board, no answer had yet been received.

The Rev. G. M. MURPHY supported the resolution, as also did the Rev. F. SWEET, of Romford. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. HENRY WRIGHT proposed that a vote of thanks should be given by the meeting to Mr. Dale and Mr. Rogers for the services rendered by them in advocating the principles of the Conference throughout the country; but the chairman said it was proposed that that resolution should be taken at the evening meeting.

The CHAIRMAN said: It would seem that in some school board schools the Church catechism is actually taught. In certain of the returns made to Lord Sandon this was openly avowed, and I am going to put the following question on the notice-book of the House of Commons:—"To ask the Vice-President of the Committee of Council whether it is true, as alleged in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, that there is reason to believe the practice of giving instruction in the Church of England catechism in board schools was observed until recently in certain localities; and whether he will state in how many cases the return reported that such instruction was given in board schools." So that we have to be on the watch in all directions against these insidious methods of defeating the Elementary Education Act. Another point I should like to call attention to. You know that Mr. Sclater-Booth has brought forward a bill relating to the valuation of property. You would not imagine that in such a bill there was any possible opportunity for ecclesiastical trickery. But there is this announcement, that, for the purpose of valuation, where the circumstances of the parish require it, the salary of the curate may be deducted from the income of the rector. (Laughter.) I see no reason for it, and it is clear that what is saved by the rector must be paid by the other ratepayers. This is another of the little things which crop up in all directions; so you see we live in dangerous times, and need to keep our eyes open. The resolution was then carried.

Mr. H. WRIGHT moved the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Richard for his conduct in the chair, and for his persistent advocacy of those principles which were so dear to them all, and of which he was the living embodiment.

Mr. S. R. PATTESON seconded the resolution, which having been carried,

The CHAIRMAN: I am much obliged for your appreciation of my humble services. I threw out a hint at the end of my opening address, and I hope it will not be allowed to drop. You know that we owe the present position of the question of religious equality more to the indefatigable exertions of our friend, Mr. Edward Miall, than to any other man living. You know Mr. Miall has lately passed through deep affliction. I think it would be grateful to his feelings if from such a meeting as this there were a resolution passed expressing our respectful and cordial sympathy with him, and our grateful acknowledgments of the incalculable services that he has rendered to the cause.

Mr. ELLINGTON: Perhaps I may be allowed to have the honour and satisfaction of moving that resolution both on public and private grounds. Mr. Miall has long been a personal friend of my own, and I know his hearty and loving sympathy with all good causes. Now that he is bowed down with sorrow, I am sure it would be comforting to him to know that while he is laid aside we are endeavouring, according to our own ability, to carry on the work he has so nobly conducted for so many years. I beg to move that we express the cordial sympathy of this conference with Mr. Miall in the domestic bereavement he has lately suffered; and the secretary, I have no doubt, will put the resolution in proper form.

Mr. A. HOPWOOD: I beg to second the motion, which I do with the utmost cordiality, and I am only sorry there is any occasion to move it.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you will accept this very cordially.

The resolution was carried by acclamation, and the proceedings terminated.

The March number of the *Contemporary Review* will contain articles by Mr. Gladstone and the Duke of Argyll. Mr. Matthew Arnold's second paper on Bishop Butler and the *Zeit-Geist* will appear in the same number of that magazine.

#### SOCIETY for the ABOLITION of VIVISECTION.

This Society numbers amongst its Subscribers the following and other persons of distinction:—

|                            |                                |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Prince Batthyany           | Prof. W. B. Hodgson, LL.D.     |
| The Marquis Townshend      | Hon. Mrs. Cowper-Temple        |
| Marchioness of Westminster | Hon. Mrs. Annesley-Gore        |
| Lady Theodosia Grosvenor   | Sir Alexander Malet, Bart.     |
| The Earl of Charlemont     | Lady Malet. [K.C.B.]           |
| The Countess of Charlemont | Sir R. Lighton, Bart.          |
| The Countess of Clare      | Sir Walter R. Farquhar, Bart.  |
| Lady Anne Gore Langton     | Sir Arthur Hallam Elton, Bart. |
| Lord Calthorpe             | General Jephson, C.B.          |
| Lady Abinger               | General Hutchinson             |
| Lady Hawley                | Prof. Francis W. Newman, Esq.  |

The object of the Society is a Law for the Total Suppression of Vivisection, or putting animals to death by torture under any pretext whatever. To call on the Legislature for less would be to admit the principle (and thereby perpetuate the enormity) that man is justified in selfishly inflicting agony on the innocent.

Opponents of the Slave Trade agitated not for restriction but abolition. The wrongs perpetrated by man on animals are even more dire than those inflicted by him on his own species. The abolition of slavery was confessedly an act of high Christian philanthropy, and surely it is no less noble or less Christian to stop the sufferings of other helpless creatures of our God.

The hideous cruelty of dissecting living animals, or inflicting on them, though innocent and defenceless, multitudinous deaths of excruciating and protracted agony, has secretly grown up in this nation—a nation which for ages past has been nobly distinguished by the courageous and un-sanguinary character of its people.

This moral ulcer has spread widely, and (whether it be or not a dreadful form of insanity) become dangerous and demoralising to Society—a blot on Civilisation—a stigma on Christianity. The public has little idea what the horrors of Vivisection are; its crimes in studied, ingenious, refined, and appalling torture, in wantonness, use, caustics, and wickedness cannot be surpassed in the annals of the world. It therefore calls for extirpation by the Legislature, cruelty being not only the worst of vices in itself, but the most retrograde to mankind, more especially when perpetrated by the refined and educated.

The Nation is APPEALED to for immediate AID and SUBSCRIPTIONS, urgently needed to obtain evidence; establish an office in London; advertise the practices of Vivisection; and extend the operations of the Association.

Subscriptions may be paid to the National Provincial Bank of England, 112, Bishopsgate-street Within, London, and all its branches, or to

GEORGE R. JESSE, Esq., Honorary Secretary, Henbury, Macclesfield, Cheshire.

N.B.—Petitions to Parliament, praying for the Total Abolition of Vivisection, should be prepared and sent in as early as possible. Forms can be had on application to the Honorary Secretary. THE SOCIETY FOR THE ABO-  
LITION OF VIVISECTION HAS NO CONNECTION WITH ANY OTHER SOCIETY.

Subscriptions are advertised on Mondays in the "Morning Post."

#### APPEAL TO MINISTERS OF RELIGION.

The Society for the Abolition of Vivisection solemnly appeals to the Ministers of Religion of all Denominations on the awful subject of the Dissection and Torture of Living Animals by men of education. A more dreadful iniquity, a greater sin against God, has never degraded and polluted the human race, or is, unless eradicated, more certain to destroy the moral welfare of all Mankind.

To put to death, under any scientific or other pretext, by excruciating agony, or lingering misery sometimes extending over weeks and even longer period, the sentient, beautiful, and affectionate creatures of the Almighty, is a crime against the Creator, who has said, "All the beasts of the forest are mine, and so are the cattle upon a thousand hills."

The increase throughout our nation of the dire cruelty termed Vivisection—the broad fact that it is now forming part of the education of the young, not merely in Hospital Medical Schools and elsewhere, but that the Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education is actually inviting the younger members of the working classes to study Animal Physiology—urgently and imperatively demands all ministers of the Gospel of Peace to do their duty and protect the helpless and innocent creatures of their God from the iron and ruthless hands of the oppressor; and the people of this land from the contaminating and tainting effects of cruelty—the basest, most demoralising, and most devilish of all vices.

The moral and humane character of any people ought, most undoubtedly, to take precedence of science and knowledge. If, by a retrograde legislation, a depraved appetite for Vivisection is created in the master, it may extend and increase to a ravenous degree, which will be next to impossible for Government ultimately to control or satisfy. If we sow the wind we may reap the whirlwind. It will be utterly useless to preach and inculcate mercy from the places of worship of our land, entirely hopeless that mercy will ever form a part of National Education, if cruelty is to be taught by the State and perpetrated before the tender and the young. Knowledge, even if it could be so obtained—and this men of great ability and eminence deny—may not be bought at such an awful price as the infliction of agonising torture and death on the unoffending and the dumb—on the creatures whom the Supreme has entrusted to us, and for an abuse of which trust He will surely hold us responsible. For, though they cannot proclaim their wrongs and appeal to an earthly tribunal, yet their cry is heard, and their Avenger is mighty.

We adjure you, in the name of the Master to whose service you are specially set apart, we call upon you in the name of the Living God, to open your mouths for the dumb, and aid and support us in the Total Suppression and utter Abolition of Vivisection.

To torture the weak and innocent, whether man or other creature of the Almighty, is a dire and unmanly wrong—contrary to the law of God and man—contrary to the law of England, in which nation torture, even of the greatest criminal, was never part of the Statute of the Realm; and is what no gain or advantage can in any manner excuse or justify.

#### WE MAY NOT DO EVIL THAT GOOD MAY COME.

Let us, therefore, with all energy implore you to make the subject known from your pulpits, and also in private, to your congregations; to denounce it gallantly and manfully this cruel and cowardly vice; to petition Parliament; to defend the defenceless; and champion to the uttermost the principles of Religion and Humanity.

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